

ASPECTS OF EFFECTIVENESS: A STUDY OF GRASSROOTS ENVIRONMENTAL NGOs

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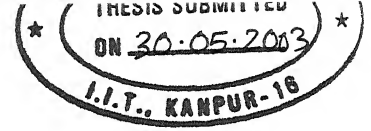
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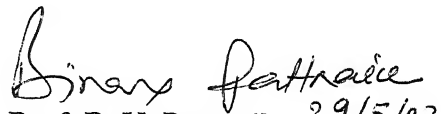


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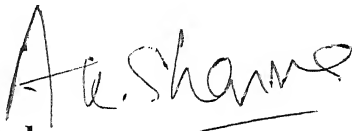
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*Dedicated
to my
Departed Brother*

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In India, there has been an upsurge of NGOs in the last two decades. NGOs have actively participated in many micro movements in India. Although it has the potentiality of making a challenging research agenda, studies on Indian NGOs have been meager. Similarly, despite the louder slogans for larger role of NGOs in today's civil society because of its widely claimed edge over other two sectors, the central issue of grassroots NGO effectiveness and its allied predictors remain to be studied.

In view of these, we have made a modest attempt to examine grassroots environmental NGO effectiveness from new social movement perspective. This particular perspective was chosen as issue oriented NGOs are actively engaged in promotion of awareness and mobilization of masses that contribute towards a popular movement. Many groups/quasi groups stemming from these movements get institutionalized and further act as pressure groups to contribute towards the emergence of new social movements. Therefore, one can see an inextricable relationship between NGOs and social movement.

The major objective of the study is to examine NGO effectiveness that has been defined from the vantage point of social movement perspective instead of defining it from a organizational perspective. This itself is an exercise with a nuance. A specific perspective has been followed in defining, NGO effectiveness, as it requires a theoretical orientation from the vantage of which it could be operationalised.

The other objective of the study is to examine the factors contributing to the NGO effectiveness. This has been attempted while examining the associations between the dependent variable in the one hand and each of the independent variables on the other. This has been examined in the form of a set of hypotheses.

Based on the objective of the study and in the light of the social movement perspective, NGO effectiveness is operationalized and measured in terms of a set of indicators, such as: 1. awareness building among masses, 2. mobilization of masses, 3. mustering support from political parties and other voluntary organizations, 4. influencing government policies and programs, 5. benefiting the people through the NGO projects and schemes, 6. empowering the people through participation and creating grassroots level popular institutions. While NGO Effectiveness forms the dependent variable, the independent variables are: approaches undertaken by NGOs, prevailing work culture among NGO employees, motivation of the NGO employees, prevalent reward system in NGOs, sense of purpose among employees, sustainability and accountability.

The thesis is organized into six chapters. In chapter I, we present an overview of literature on NGOs covering issues like its conceptual ambiguity, emergence of NGOs and its proliferation, the 'third sector', the role of NGOs in civil society and the interface between NGOs and Social movements.

The chapter II reviews the methodology applied on NGO studies in general. It discusses variables, hypotheses, sampling procedure, instrument of data collection and measurement of the data. In the light of the objectives of the study and subsequent operationalization of the 'Grassroots Environmental NGO', a sample of 40 NGOs were picked up through random sampling method. A semi-structured questionnaire was used to obtain the data. Besides this, two in-depth case studies were also carried out to study certain qualitative aspects of NGO effectiveness which could not be operationalized and measured along with the quantitative variables. All the variables were measured in three point scale at interval level.

With cross tabulation and chi-square technique the associations between dependent variable (effectiveness) and independent variables were established and hypotheses were verified.

Chapter III is devoted to the issue of NGO effectiveness, its attributes, its indicators and subsequently their operationalization in the given theoretical context. Besides presenting a review, it also spells out the rationale for its conceptualization from new social movement perspective. The chapter presents the empirical findings on NGO effectiveness.

In chapter IV we verified a set of hypotheses based on the dependent and independent variables of the study and subsequently verified and interpreted them. The hypotheses are as follows:

H.1 Higher is the level of popular participation through the bottom-up approach in grassroots environmental NGOs, higher is their level of effectiveness;

H.2. Better is the reward system in the grassroots environmental NGOs higher is their level of effectiveness;

H.3. Higher is the level of motivation among the staff of grassroots environmental NGOs, higher is their level of effectiveness;

H.4. Better is the prevalent work culture among the employees higher is their level of effectiveness;

H.5. Higher is the sense of purpose among the employees of higher is their level of effectiveness;

H. 6. Higher is the level of sustainability of NGOs higher is their effectiveness;

H.7. Higher is the level of accountability higher is their effectiveness.

With regard to the major independent variable 'NGO approaches of functioning', we have conclusively found that no grassroots NGO practices either top-down or bottom-up approach exclusively. No grassroots NGOs could be completely top-down oriented in practice, like some of the leading International NGOs which necessarily function with the consent and co-operation of the foreign governments and deliver the aid material/projects

sent by their parent governments. Similarly no grassroots NGOs could be functioning exclusively by bottom-up practices in developing countries as assistance/directives from local governments become inevitable in some form or the other for the government controls the infrastructure and public distribution machinery.

The other major finding of the study is the non-association between NGO effectiveness and their reward system suggests that reward system is insignificant in the presence of altruism and voluntarism among the grassroots NGO workers. The subsequent findings like positive association of NGO effectiveness with motivation, work culture and sense of purpose among the NGO employees are in order and conformity with the literature and assumptions. When equipped with the spirit of altruism and voluntarism, these grassroots level workers are also found to be a highly motivated lot who understand their jobs and perform their jobs with a sense of purpose. Similarly, the study also observed an association between effectiveness and accountability, and sustainability of NGOs.

Chapter V discusses the strategies and functions of two NGOs selected as case studies to examine certain qualitative aspects/attributes of the study. It discusses the context in which these two NGOs have emerged and how they have been engaging them in the process of mobilizing the people and winning the trust /confidence of the people in the region. It discusses various issues such as leadership, corruption, sustenance, etc. and their perception on these issues. It was found that social factors i.e., caste, politics, etc. though play a role but are not found to be decisive factors.

Chapter VI provides a summary of the study and spells out the limitations of the study. One of the limitations of the study is that it could not establish inter-correlation between independent variables. Had it been a purely quantitative exercise the inter-correlations between independent variables could have been examined. But the descriptive nature of our study and the small size of the sample did not allow to draw such conclusions which may very well be the limitation of the nature of this study.

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List of Abbreviations

AGs	Action Groups
AGNs	Advocacy Groups and Net-work
APPEN	Asia-Pacific People's Environment Network
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
ENGOS	Environmental Non Government Organizations
FNET	African women's Development and Communication Network
GOs	Government Organization
GNP	Gross National Product
GROs	Grassroots Organizations
GRSOs	Grassroots Support Organizations
GREENNET	Networking for Environment, Peace and Human rights
GV	Gram Vikas
INGOs	International Non Government Organization
IAs	Interest Association
LOs	Local Organizations
MLAs	Member of Legislative Assembly
MPs	Member of Parliament
MSOs	Membership Support Organizations
NEPH	Networking for Environment, Peace and Human rights
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NNGOs	Northern Non Government Organization
NPI	New Partnership Initiative
NPOs	Non Profit Organizations
NSMs	New Social Movements
ODAF	Orissa Development Action Forum
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PAN	Pesticides Action Network

PDC	People's Development Communication
POs	People's Organizations
PQLI	Physical Quality Life Index
PRLA	Participatory Research in Asia
PRA	Participatory Research Appraisal
RHEP	Rural Health and Environment Programme
RMT	Resource Mobilization Theory
SHG	Self Help Group
SMs	Social Movements
SMOs	Social Movement Organizations
SNGOs	Southern Non Government Organization
VDOs	Voluntary Development Organization

Chapter - I

Non-Governmental Organization as a Field of Sociological Inquiry

In this chapter, we present an overview of literature on Non-Government Organization (NGOs). Herein, we cover diverse issues such as the emergence of NGOs and its proliferation, the way NGOs have set themselves up as third sector, NGOs as agents of civil society, their role in civil society, and the relationship between NGOs and social movements. Based on the earlier observations, arguments and viewpoints drawn from the literature, this chapter introduces various aspects of NGO sector. It also discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the NGO sector in general and new social movements in particular. Attempting to understand NGOs' role within collective action discourse and new social movement perspective, we seek to conceptualize role of NGOs and their contributions within this broader theoretical framework.

1.1 Introduction

Of late, there has been rapid growth of NGOs both in developed as well as developing countries. NGOs, particularly, in developing countries have increasingly concentrated upon issues of contemporary importance such as those pertaining to literacy, child labor, empowerment of the rural masses, community health, women and their reproductive health, environment, common property resource management, etc. These issue-oriented NGOs through their mobilization programs organize and mobilize the people and create awareness among them in an attempt to bring about discernable impact on the local situations/issues. These NGOs arouse public opinion through various awareness-building strategies such as holding public meetings, identifying key participants, mobilizing target population i.e., youth, women, etc. Networking with like-minded NGOs and mustering of support from media, political parties provide an added

advantage for these NGOs. The combined efforts of NGOs coalesce into movements at the grassroots level.

In India, a developing country, there has been an upsurge of NGOs. Issue based NGOs have actively participated in many micro movements in India. Although NGO sector has the potentiality of making a challenging research agenda, studies on NGOs in general and on Indian NGOs in particular have been meager. Similarly, despite the louder slogans for larger role of NGOs in today's civil society because of its widely claimed edge over other two sectors i.e., state and corporate, the central issue of grassroots NGO effectiveness is yet to be studied sociologically.

In the present study, we have made a modest attempt to examine grassroots environmental NGOs' effectiveness from new social movement perspective. Since issue oriented NGOs contribute and participate in social movements, the present study has been conceived from the vantage point of new social movement perspective. The issue oriented NGOs actively participate in mobilization and awareness building practices which in turn contribute towards a popular movement. NGOs contribute to various movements either by extending organizational help or by perplexing and popularizing the message through their participatory interventions among the people. Many organizations stemming from these processes get institutionalized and act as pressure groups to contribute towards the emergence of new movements. Hence, there exists an inextricable relationship between NGOs and social movement. Further, as the philosophy of NGOs is rooted in non-profit and service, their ultimate goal lies in social transformation through people's empowerment and participation in the developmental activities. Therefore, studying NGO effectiveness from this theoretical discourse acquires relevance.

Keeping this theoretical framework in mind, we have chosen grassroots environmental NGOs for our study as they emphasize on people's awareness, people's mobilization and ultimately their participation in their activities. Hence an approach with nuance for studying effectiveness from new social movement perspective is attempted instead of examining it solely from organizational perspective.

1.2 Why NGOs Matter

Citizens' lack of ability to resist the hegemonic power play of the state paves the way for other conscience-keeping agents to combat the state monopoly. This is known as the 'secondary power' that falls within the ambit of the civil society. And voluntary association can be seen as the manifestation of this 'secondary power' (Oommen 1975: 162). These voluntary organizations insight people to get organized and form an alternative force to keep the state machinery on track. In recent years, we have witnessed the increasing presence of NGOs at different levels i.e., local, national and global cutting across issues. Further, their phenomenal rise also sets and marks a trend. As Beteille (2001:300) says, last decade of the 20th century can rightly be called as 'decade of the NGOs'. Dhanagare (1988: 39) considers the rise and growth of action groups (i.e., NGOs) and their efforts in uplifting the vulnerable sections as the 'striking feature of contemporary social reality in India'. This has prompted scholars to pose a series of questions such as what do NGOs do, what strategies do they employ, what set them apart from other two sectors i.e., state and private, have they really been an effective force, if yes, how and why, and so on.

In the literature of third sector, Voluntary Development Organisations (VDOs), Voluntary Organisation (VOs), Action Groups (AGs), People's Organisations (POs) are the terms used to refer to NGOs. These are also being clubbed under a broad sector i.e., third sector, public and private sectors being the first and the second sectors respectively. Notwithstanding the conceptual ambiguity, it is believed that the NGO sector is bestowed with noble features like (1) less bureaucratic, (2) spirit of voluntarism, (3) non-profit making, (4) effective in reaching out the masses, (5) possessing ability to operate in remote and inaccessible areas, (6) being in the forefront during natural calamities and (7) above all effective in delivering goods at the grassroots level. The NGO sector differentiates itself from government and corporate enterprises in terms of its purpose, which is said to be driven by values like altruism, philanthropy and voluntarism whereas the primary objectives of government and private sectors remains to govern and make

profits respectively (Brown and Korten 1989, cited in Fowler, 1992: 22). Thus, it is placed in an advantageous position in comparison to other formal bureaucratic organizations as far as achieving its objectives are concerned.

Over the years, in India increasing emphasis is laid on micro development strategies and smaller group programmes at grassroots level (Pandey 1991:20). These grassroots initiatives have acquired relevance and can be seen as an alternative approach to rural development in India (Seth 1984: 259). To carry forward the efforts to uplift the deprived sections at local level, grassroots voluntary organizations (i.e., NGOs) undertake different strategies with a broader goal; that is to empower the vulnerable groups by motivating them to participate in community action. This community participation brings about significant impact on the local situations (Edwards and Hulme 1992:24).

In the developing countries like India, importance of grassroots NGOs is well understood. These now deal with issues like environment protection, gender equality, reproductive health care, human rights, sustainable development, development with equity, etc. In countries like Brazil, India, Thailand and the Philippines one can observe the phenomenal rise of grassroots NGOs. The effective networks of NGOs have led to the outbreak of community movements in these countries. Shiva (1992:58) argues that people's voice is heard long before the official authorities. The 'green movement' is indeed a local movement based on local awareness and local resistance to check the environmental degradation. The NGOs and local communities while working hand in hand not only possess the potentiality to energize political associations / institutions but also bring about changes in laws and policies. Moreover, as grassroots NGOs are locally rooted, environmentally sensitive, flexible and honest (Sethi 1998:413), have an edge over other formal organizations to attain the environmental objectives. And in view of the growing role of local NGOs in the socio-economic development, the present study attempts to observe their role in inducing new social movements empirically.

1.3 The Rise of NGO Sector

The mushrooming of NGOs in recent decades, their apparent involvement in contemporary issues such as development, environment, gender, welfare, etc. have provided an impetus not only to academia but also to planners and activists to investigate and examine various issues and attributes of this sector. The heterogeneous nature of the sector, important issues such as fund accountability, sustainability, and issues relating to its assessment have widened the scope of inquiry for researchers from across disciplines. Moreover, NGOs' tall claims in achieving their targets, government's inability to meet the increasing demands of the people, and an increasing felt need for a vibrant civil society have evoked many social scientists to carry out studies on the NGO sector which is also known as the 'third sector' (two other prime sectors are public and private).

Hammack (2001:157-73) calls the proliferation of NGOs a 'quiet revolution'. Clarke (1998:36-52) terms the rise of NGOs as 'associational revolution'. The sharp rise and growth of NGOs can be attributed to the failure of other two prime sectors namely public and private. NGOs believed to be private in form but public in their purpose, seek to fill the resulting void of public space. Edwards and Hulme (1996: 1-17) list a few contextual factors responsible for the rise of NGOs such as shifting of decision-making authorities from the centralized state level to decentralized forms of governance and the emergence of the 'civil society' as a powerful discourse, etc.

Owing to NGOs' involvement in various issues, diverse nature of these bodies in terms of size, organizational structures, operational principles, and ideology, issues of concern, etc., it is worth mentioning the classification of NGOs as enumerated in the literature.

1.4 NGO Classification

NGOs vary in terms of their ideology, programme, scale of operation, approach to development, staff strength, organizational structure, source of funds, etc. Scholars have classified NGOs in various ways. Radhakrishna (1993:293) classified NGOs into three categories such as relief and welfare organizations, sustainable system development organizations and people's movement organizations. He feels that there is a direct link between rise and growth of NGOs and evolving forces of development and change. Mahajan (1994:175-176) classified NGOs into four types, (i) relief agencies active in emergency, (ii) NGOs involved in welfare services such as healthcare, literacy, and primary education for poor (iii) awareness building organizations (iv) livelihood, employment and income generating organizations. Similarly, Bowden (1990:141) made a fourfold classification of NGOs namely consulting Voluntary Development Organizations (VDOs), welfare VDOs, development VDOs and advocacy VDOs. Julie Fisher (1993) classified NGOs into two broad categories such as Grassroots Organizations (GROs) and Grassroots Support Organizations (GRSOs). While GROs are locally based organizations and work for the improvement and development of their own communities through specific programs, GRSOs refer to nationally or regionally based assistance organizations having professional staff who channel international funds. Village councils, cooperatives and other community-based enterprises can be termed as GROs. Unlike GROs, GRSOs provide support to the existing grassroots organizations and help create new ones.

Potter (1996:25-49) talking about environmental NGOs, says there are various ways to classify NGOs within the environmental movement. NGOs can be categorized in terms of size, level, and links. Size of the NGOs can be determined in terms of numbers of full time staff, size of budget, etc. Environmental NGOs can operate at local level, national level, and international level. Similarly, the growth of NGOs varies from place to place. For example in the state of Karnataka in south India, some rural districts have numerous NGOs while others have very few. For instance, in early 1990s the Philippines

had more than 2000 development cum environmental NGOs at various levels where as there were virtually no environmental NGOs in Vietnam.

PRIA (1991) has classified NGOs on the basis of three parameters like Inspiration, Rationale and Size. NGOs under inspiration category are inspired by philosophical, ideological, intellectual, religious factors. Under rationale category four broad NGOs are discussed. These are (i) rationale as 'people need help' (ii) rationale of development – people could develop on their own with NGOs' support (iii) rationale of empowerment (iv) rationale for the support and influence at various level i.e., grassroots, national and international. NGOs can also be classified on the basis of its size that includes number of personnel, areas of operation and the coverage of target population.

Rao (1996: 278) talks of process and product oriented NGOs. While process oriented NGOs mainly play as facilitators role for issues such as empowerment, conscientization, awareness building among the masses, product oriented NGOs are concerned with their achievements in terms of quantifiable parameters such as number of people get benefited, etc. It is the process orientation that places them in an advantageous position in relation to the role they play in human resource development

Riddell & Robinson (1995:139) have attempted to classify NGOs in India on the basis of their scale of operations and locations. They have categorized into six types:

1. Large scale indigenous NGOs working in several states in different parts of the country
2. Large indigenous NGOs working in most districts of one state
3. Medium-sized indigenous NGOs working in a large number of villages in one or two districts of one state
4. Small indigenous NGOs working in a group of villages in locality
5. Large international NGOs with in – country representation providing funding and support to indigenous NGOs
6. Small international NGOs working directly in one or two localities

Cerne, (1985) tries to classify NGOs on the basis of some attributes. They can be classified as local, national, and international on the basis of their area of operation. By activity they can be classified as developmental, environmental, philanthropic, vocational, training, research, advocacy, funding, etc. Some even categorize these on the basis of geographical locations such as local, national and international. Owing to its flexible and diversified nature, their fields of operation were manifold such as development, human rights, environment, gender, income generation, health, etc.

1.5 NGO as Third Sector

The increasingly commonplace reference to the voluntary organizations and its networks in civil society as a third sector represents a welcome recognition of the roles of NGOs, notes Tandon (1992: 38). Najam (1996:214) argues that NGO sector should be seen as an institutional category like two other sectors rather than merely as a residual category.

More than ever, the public rests its hope on the non-profit sector to address the social problems; that business and government sectors are unable to address effectively. It is believed that non-profit organizations in this regard hold more promise because they are relatively free of the unrelenting need to increase profits unlike business sector (Herzlinger 1994: 52). Another aspect, which makes NGOs distinct, is that unlike government agencies, they are directly accountable to their board of directors and to the contributors on whose support they depend. Furthermore, non-profit organizations have a record of promoting literacy, providing health care, offering support for the poor through philanthropy that neither business nor government can match.

Today, market and state have become two autonomous parts of society and are engaged in reorganizing the civil society according to their own design. Now NGOs may be seen as social agents, which articulate civil society's response to market and state (Sharma 1999:47). The organizations in the NGO sector differentiate themselves from governments and commercial enterprises as their purposes are driven by values. Whereas

the primary objectives of governments are to control and regulate the state machinery, the business sector makes profits for the owners (Brown and Korten 1989, cited in Fowler, 1992: 22).

In the community building process, whether it involves social welfare, philanthropic, recreational or other interests, NGOs encourage people to participate in large numbers. Such voluntary associations have become a considerable interest to social scientists also leading to the emergence of an academic specialization termed as 'third sector research'.

These organizations can be seen as new institutional faces in an organized and responsive civil society. Their apparent diversity, flexibility, efficiency and participatory nature provide a contrast to rigid bureaucracies and profit oriented market forces. This perception encourages a view of NGOs as 'magic bullet,' which holds the key to poverty alleviation, environmental preservation, human rights, and many other arenas of social life, including democratization. Analysts have viewed NGO sector in civil society as a source of "bottom-up" form of development (Slater 1985; Fox and Hernández 1989; Salazar 1990; Fisher 1994; Escobar and Alvarez 1992 cited in Carruthers: 2002).

Voluntary agencies are now so prominent in the organizational inventory of the development fields that we can see them as one of the 'three primary institutional sectors of human society', alongside government and business (Korten 1989 cited in Brett, 1993:27). While commercial enterprises are too self-centered and concerned with short term and tangible gains, governments are seen to be inefficient and corrupt. The inability of these two sectors to live up to the expectation of the people has set the stage for the rise of a new sector called third sector. Kapoor (1996:13-27) says that, in broad sense, voluntary sector refers neither to those, which are part of the state or of the market. In other words, these organizations may be put under civil societies that are involved in social or community action. It is the motive behind action that sets NGOs apart from state and market. While the market makes profit, the state strives to bring about good governance; the NGOs aim at to strengthen civil society. Marc Nerfin (1986) says society

has three main sectors and they mobilize their resources in three different ways. This has been displayed in the following table.

Table No. 1.1: Defining three sectors

Sector	Symbol	Primary resource
First	The Government/ The Prince	Coercion/ mobilization
Second	The Business/ The merchant	Trade and exchange
Third	Private, Non profit/ The citizen	Shared values and commitment

Third sector mobilizes the resources by persuading/convincing people who share a common vision with the goals and objectives of the sector. It encourages them to contribute their time, money and above all the voluntary spirit. The responsive citizens, intellectuals and activists play a significant role in this sector. In a word, it mobilizes 'voluntary social energy'. NGOs though seem small, yet constitute a significant unit of civil society. If we look at the third sector in civil society/public sphere domain, both historically and internationally, we can see that the third sector has been a potent force for social movements. The elements of the modern nation state was originally instigated and carried out by organizations of civil society (Holloway, 1998:38-40).

Table No. 1.2: Defining three sectors

Sector	Motivation	Resource	Resource mobilization
Government (1st)	To govern	State property	By law/ command/ coercion
Business (2nd)	To make profits	Private property	By trade and exchange
Voluntary (3rd)	To improve	Own resources, time, energy, etc.	By shared commitment to peoples lives & personal resources / action with other citizens and by shared values

Source: Holloway: 1998

Table No. 1.3: Common Definitions of the Third Sector

By..	Public sector	Private Sector	Third Sector	References
Incentive for cooperation	Authority	Profit	Voluntarism	Uphoff (1993)
Control	Through hierarchy	Through hierarchy	Through shared values	Mintzberg (1996)
Strategic commitment	Domain development	Profit, growth, image	Domain development	Khandwalla (1990)
Distribution of returns	To the state or organization	To share holders	Stays organization	Hansmann (1987)
Choice of sectors	Public goods	Private goods	Public goods, professional services	Wiggins & Cromwell (1995)

Source: Srinivas N: 1998:218

Table No. 1.4: Defining Three Sectors

	Public Sector	Private Sector	Third Sector
Key Goals	Implementing development plans	Creating unique goods	Providing development services
Performance Criteria	Efficiency, accountability	Usually profit	Sustainability, empowerment
Strategy formulation	Through appointed professionals	Appointed professionals	Appointed professionals as well as service users
Differentiation of Authority	High: based on hierarchy and rapport with government actors	Medium-high: based on ownership and hierarchy	Low-medium: based on professional skills and member/user representation
Primary External Actors	Ministries bureaucratic cadres	Banks, investors, suppliers, regulators, distributors, competitors	Donors, others in the 3 rd sector village leaders, policy makers

Source: Srinivas, N 1998: 218

1.6 NGO-GO Relations

Scholars argue that though NGOs by and large maintain their independent identity, they also share a relationship with the government. As an NGO personnel puts it 'there is always a kiss and kick relationship between NGO and government'. Let us discuss Najam's (2000:375-396) formulation of NGO – GO relationship.

Najam's Four C Model on NGO- Government Relations

Co-operation: Under this form of relationship GO and NGOs tend to share similar goals, policies, and strategies to achieve the set objectives. So there is a convergence of ends and means.

Confrontation: This occurs when there is divergence of strategies of GOs and NGOs. Each follows a different means and strategies to achieve the goals.

Complementarity: This refers to a relationship where GOs and NGOs share similar goals but follow different strategies. In other words, they follow divergent strategies but convergent goals.

Co-optation: When GOs and NGOs aim to achieve different goals by following similar strategies, they share co-optation relationship. Thus, they follow divergent goals and convergent strategies.

In India, a number of committees have been formed in connection with NGOs. Meheta Committee 1957 emphasized the close co-operation and collaboration between statutory organizations and NGOs. Kudal Commission 1989 recommended to take over major Gandhian NGOs working for the rural poor. The government has been supportive and has recognized their positive contribution in the field of social welfare. In the Seventh Five Year Plan (1986-90), government had made a financial commitment for NGOs. It provided the freedom to plan and follow the technology for the rural development and betterment of the rural people. A semi-autonomous body called Council for the Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology (CAPART) was created to administer these funds

1.7 Why voluntary organization remains an ambiguous term

Conceptually, voluntary organizations remain an ambiguous term. The inability to arrive at a universal concept leads to various analytical conceptualizations of the NGO sector (Hodgkinson, 1989 cited in Najam 1996: 204). The term 'voluntary organizations' encompasses a wide range of agencies, i.e., societies, co-operatives, trusts, trade unions, forums of activism, etc. The voluntary organization as it stands can be defined as an organization rooted in civil society domain; that is non-profit and voluntary in nature and need to be registered under an Act such as Society Registration Act 1860, Indian Trust Act 1882, The Co-operative Societies Act, 1904, The Joint Stock Companies Act, 1956 in order to meet the judicial requirements. To avail the foreign contribution, they need to register under Foreign Contribution Regulation Act 1976.

The absence of a common and concrete definition of voluntary organizations has led scholars to use other synonymous terms such as Voluntary Organizations (VOs) Non-Profit Organization (NPOs), Action Groups (AGs), and Voluntary Development Organizations (VDOs) interchangeably. In recent years, they are referred to as NGOs. While this term (NGO) makes uniformity, it also gives a false sense of homogeneity, particularly those who are not connected with voluntary action (Mukherjee, 1994: 390). Moreover, the terminological standardization of the concept of non-government organizations engaged in is a neglected area in the existing literature (Garain, 1998: 85). Today these are being clubbed under third sector, which of course has sparked a lot of debate. While the idea of third sector is appealing, sociologically speaking, it would be absurd to state that NGOs fill-in the entire space left unoccupied by other two sectors i.e., the state and the market. Hence, NGOs form only one component of the third sector (Beteillie, 2001: 301). Due to its complexity & heterogeneous character, any attempt to offer concrete definition is found insufficient in defining the nature and structure of a voluntary organization. Hence, it may be understood in terms of its characteristic features.

Voluntary: An NGO is believed to be voluntary, non-profit in nature. It is voluntary because members are drawn and involved in this organization due to sheer inner motivation and the urge to serve. In other words, membership to this organization is spontaneous. This claim, of course, has run into debate, as it has increasingly become a professional and a job seeking enterprise in recent years.

Non-Profit: It is also called not-for-profit organization as the profit they accrue is supposed to be used only for the benefit of the target population. The resources and profits they generate are supposed to be redistributed among the target population or invested for the cause they fight for. This again slips into controversy as lately questions are raised against their accountability, transparency and, NGOs have come under criticisms and close scrutiny.

Non-governmental: As these organizations do not interfere in governmental activities they are termed as non-governmental organizations. This has also been debated as experiences show that some way or the other they do receive governmental support (overtly or covertly), take the help of government officials in implementing various projects. Besides, it is argued that NGOs need to depend on the government explicitly or implicitly for their survival and smooth functioning of their projects.

Table No. 1.5: Acronyms of NGOs

Acronyms	Abbreviation	Used by
Advocacy Groups and Network	AGNs	Clark 1991
Community based Organizations	CBOs	Fowler 1996
Environmental NGOs	ENGOS	Najam 1995
Grassroots support Organizations	GRSOs	Fisher 1993
Interest Association	IAS	Esman and Uphoff 1984
Voluntary Agencies	VOLGAS	Pandey 1991
Local Organizations	LOs	Esman and Uphoff 1984

Membership Support Organizations	MSOs	Carroll 1992
Northern NGOs	NNGOs	Fowler 1996
Peoples Organizations	POs	Korten 1990
Action Groups	AGs	Dhanagare 1988
Southern NGOs	SNGOs	Fowler 1996
Voluntary Agencies	VOLGAS	Pandey 1991

The Table 1.5 presents the acronyms of NGOs used in the NGO literature

1.8 Issues in NGO sector

1.8.1 Professionalism

The unprecedented growths of the NGO sector, high expectation from this sector and, the increasing pressure on these organizations to deliver the goods have resulted in professionalization of NGOs. From the mid 1980s NGOs have started emphasizing the importance of professional approach, based on sound management, planning and coordination. Emphasis was also given to the creation of resource agencies that provide support services to other NGOs in the form of training, evaluation, and documentation (Riddel and Robinson, 1995:143). These organizations hire professionals and experts from various fields in a bid to achieve their objectives more efficiently. Hence, in NGO sector one can observe the presence of both voluntarism and professionalism. More and more professionals have started joining this sector to eke out their livelihood as well as to carry out social activities. In the field of social activism, they hope for an upward mobility, social recognition, international awards and, of course fulfilling the mission of their organization. These young professionals are basically from the volatile middle class who constantly look for an opportunity to establish them in a domain, which fetch them an easily recognizable status.

Herzlinger (1994:58) focusing on professionalism of non-profit sector talks about the four committees of NGO sector such as planning, compensation, auditing and

regulatory compliance. While financial matters are taken care of by auditing committee, the compensation committee consists of managers who evaluate employee performance. And the planning committee comprised of creative visionaries to look after planning matters. Members of the compensation committee supervise the salaries at non-profits personnel. The auditing committee supervises the organization's external and internal audits and reports the results to the other board members. The regulatory committee oversees the work of the organization's internal auditing staff and monitors the organization's adherence to the requirements of key government agencies. These committees include the most original thinkers on the board, those who are most likely to bring about reforms within the organization. They are the people who can best articulate the organization's mission and determine whether its resources fulfill the mission. When these committees supported by appropriate staff such as the top-level executives in the planning, financial, controllership, and human resource functions ensure the effective functioning of the organizations. NGOs also mobilize and focus the social energies of a people's development driven by a commitment to self-help action. The Seventh Plan had also stressed on professionalism in voluntarism to meet the requirements of accountability, of local mobilization resources, and of building greater trust between government and voluntary agencies. The plan identified the programs and areas in which the participation of voluntary agencies can be of great help (Govt. of India 1985, cited in Sharma, 1999: 39).

Pointing out the importance of professionalism in NGO sector Vieira (2003:51) says

it is understandable that employees in NPOs may not travel in first or business class or stay in five star hotels. But to deny them a fair wage for the expertise they bring in is also to bring in long-term disaster.

Further, transparency can be maintained if an NGO is professional in its approach. Despite the popular believe that India's non-profits operate at the margins of the mainstream economy, according to Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), there are nearly 1.2 million non-profit organizations operating in India, and their total funding in 1999-00 was close to Rs 18,000 crore – that's around one per cent of the country's GDP.

Moreover, non-profits employ nearly 20 million people – some paid, others unpaid – which is comparable to the country's organized labour force (Lakshman, 2003:36).

1.8.2 NGOs and Their Networking

NGOs have realized that they can raise their effectiveness by linking with other NGOs in their field of action, or having the same target groups. Potter (1996:28-30) points out the existence of four types of linkages such as Networking, Networks, Coalitions and Alliances. He defines networking as a passive, occasional, unpredictable use of information technology 'nets'. The moment it becomes active, it can be called as Networks. Quite often Networks carry a name. For instances FEMNET (African women's Development and Communication Network), PAN (Pesticides Action Network), ECONET, GREENNET, NEPH (Networking for Environment, Peace and Human rights), APPEN (Asia-Pacific People's Environment Network), VANI (Voluntary Action Network India, SANGHATI (Networking of grassroots NGOs in Orissa) etc. However, some networks could be temporary linkages and some may deal with long-term allegiances to common ideals among trusted partners and regular consultation (Sharma, 1999: 30). It is presumed that issue based NGOs like environmental NGOs share a networking with like-minded NGOs across geographical landscapes. These networks help NGOs to reach across sectors i.e., intellectual, press, community organizations. Hence, networks are the building blocks of social movements and change (Korten, 1990:2).

The new information technologies have also helped to make networking possible in a wider scale. In the USA there is ECO net, in Europe there is green net. A network exists and survives when there is more active, regular networking among NGOs. NGOs forge alliances in various shapes and sizes. One such type could be north-south confederation that is global in scope. Similarly, there could be national NGO alliance that maintains contacts with international bodies such as Green Peace International, the World Conservation Union, etc. Yet there could be regional networks that bring regional NGOs under common platform. Four mechanisms may be used by NGOs for maintaining alliances. Firstly, an intermediary organization identifies local NGO projects on behalf

the Northern NGO and monitors the work done. Secondly, local intermediary organizations accept incoming resources from consortium of Northern sources and distribute them to local NGO projects. Thirdly, a Northern NGO having an office in the concerned country with a high degree of autonomy, through which its funds are channeled. Finally, a Northern NGO works directly with a local NGO, periodically visiting it (Farrington and Lewis, 1993:95-96).

In the 21st century networking will hold the key to success. Many NPOs in India seek to do the same things intensively that others do with the same target audience in the same geographical areas. Networking helps adopting cooperation and competition (Vieira, 2003:51).

1.8.3 Sources of Funding and NGOs

The incessant flow of money is believed to be one of the significant reasons for the phenomenal rise and growth of NGOs. In India while a section of scholars see no problem in receiving funds that include foreign currency another section disapproves it. The scholars who are against receiving foreign money argue that uncontrolled receipts of money will only lead to corrupt practices in the sector and slowly and steadily turn it into a business enterprise. And foreign money is not made available easily without attached strings. Such strings could be against national interest also. According to them, this hinders the spirit of voluntarism. Those who are in favor of receiving funds argue that flow of money is essential to serve the poor and the underprivileged. Because the Indian polity has been neglecting them for decades. After all one needs resources to survive. No matter if the money comes from abroad. NGOs are not an exception. As professionalization of NGOs getting wider and stronger day-by-day, NGOs have to offer attractive remuneration to attract skilled personnel, which may enhance efficiency and effectiveness of the organizations.

NGOs are generally reluctant to divulge detailed accounts. According to a survey half of the NGOs had budgets below 250,000, which provides some support for the view that the majority of Indian NGOs are small-scale and localized (Nath, 1989, cited in

Riddell and Robinson, 1995: 139). Recent estimates suggest that the amount of foreign funds coming into the country for NGOs each year ranges from Rs. 9bn. to 5bn. in mid 1980s (Ibid.)

Garain (1998:131) says NGOs in India can raise funds from four different sources :

1. Individual contribution from the public;
2. Indigenous institutions like, charitable trusts, business houses, etc.
3. Government sources;
4. International funding agencies.

According to Ridell and Robinson, (1995: 142-145) the bulk of NGO activity in India is funded by international NGOs. German and Dutch agencies account for the largest share, while British NGOs contribute 5 per cent of the total contribution. The funding mechanism can be categorized into four. First, donors operate exclusively through intermediary agency in India, which in turn responsible for identifying suitable projects, monitoring and evaluating the projects. Second is the consortia model favored by the churches, where donor agencies pool their funds, in the form of block grants, which is distributed by intermediary agencies. Third, international NGOs through their in country offices perform the role of intermediary agencies and distribute and evaluate directly. Action Aid favors this mechanism. Oxfam, Save the Children Fund operate through their own offices set up in India. Fourth, projects are submitted directly to funding agencies for the favorable consideration. Donor agencies through its periodic visits supervise the progress of projects and utilization of money. For example Christian Aid , channels most of its fund to Indian NGOs bilaterally.

However, according to Rajesh Tandon, president of PRIA 'their survey revealed that the main source of receipts for NPOs are self generated – loans, grants and donations. Foreign funds contribute only 7.4 per cent of the total receipts of NPOs. What they need is a little help in terms of professional management skills' (cited in Lakshman, 2003:36).

1.8.4 Importance of Media in Popularizing NGOs

NGOs seek to reach the target population for which they need a wider coverage of their efforts. Both print and electronic media play a significant role in promoting NGOs' cause. Sometimes media helps them in reaching out the unreachable area and widen the scope of NGOs' efforts. The main reasons behind their emphasis on media are:

1. To raise the profile of the NGO, i.e., popularizing name and gaining recognition helps to raise funds and resources;
2. To inform/educate, with a view to raising public awareness on issues of their prime concern, to form public opinion and create awareness;
3. To consolidate their relations with the government i.e., to support advocacy/lobbying;
4. To carry appeals on print advertising on TV etc

News releases (sometimes broadly cast, but often targeted) promoting events, publications, programs, and positions on policy issues. They also form opinions and write those in daily newspapers. They also hold discussions with editorial boards of newspapers. They prepare documentaries on topical issues. By offering professional development opportunities such as trips to the workshops, providing background information to relevant journalists they initiate contact with the media.

1.8.5 NGOs Creating a Niche

Activist groups (Action groups, NGOs) have created their own space, mostly outside the sphere of organized political parties, outside the structure of power politics and outside the institutional framework of the state (Dhanagare, 1988: 37- 57). The lack of success of state agencies in the remote, diverse and risk prone areas has helped NGOs to stake their claim high. They have moved to bridge the organizational vacuum and created niche configured by their skills in certain types of methodology (Top Down, Bottom Up) (Princen, 1994:30-47). NGOs lobby local and national governments to increase information campaigns and to devote more efforts for the education of members, employers and elected representatives on all levels about environmental protection. The

efforts may not bring in quick and tangible results but in long run it will generate awareness and self-consciousness. Environmental NGOs create political niche by building assets based on legitimacy, transparency and transnational character (Princen and Finger, 19994:8-13).

1.8. 6 NGOs and Middle class

The issue that has got currency in NGO related research is the role of middle class in contributing the rise and growth of NGO sector. Sociologically, part of the disenchanted and semi radicalized middle classes, the professional groups mainly urban based have slowly taken over the social space occupied by the voluntary movement. It is they who are normally referred to when one talks about the voluntary sector (Sethi, 1988:23). The middle class, which was in constant search of the opportunity to establish itself, found NGO sector a suitable platform to create a space for itself. It tries to entrench into the vulnerable section at grassroots and take up catchy issues such as environment, rehabilitation, and welfare activities to win back the confidence of the people as well as the government. It is the young middle class intellectuals who are increasingly associating themselves with several action groups and micro level movements that have developed in India since 1970s fill the wide political space outside the mainstream of party politics and state power. Such intellectuals are indispensable for action groups who can use ideology to initiate collective action in a structured world. These activists essentially are drawn from the conscious and enlightened streams of middle class (Dhanagare, 1988:48). The committed middle class youth searching for an opportunity to create a niche hoped that their active involvement and efforts to organize and mobilize the rural poor would bring about new consciousness leading to a transformation in the rural areas (Pandey, 1991:14).

1.8.7 NGOs and Civil Society

‘The big business has hijacked the political system and is advancing its own narrow profit motives at the expense of civic values in society. This leads to perceive that non-governmental organizations are perhaps the most authentic voice of a civil society’ (Tendler, 2000, cited in Dhanagare, 2001: 178). Civil Society, which remains outside the two domains such as public and private, gets strengthened by intermediary institutions and by the spirit of voluntarism of the people. The growing interest of development professionals and practitioners in NGOs has marked a shift from conceptual to operational attributes of civil society (Nayar, 2001: 209). The voluntary action, voluntary movements and voluntary associations have brought about a new lease of hope and also concerns for creation of viable civil society (Beteille, 2001:298). What distinguishes civil society from other two sectors is that no one is coerced into the activities of civil society and no one makes a personal profit from the activities of civil society (unlike merchant/business). The activities of civil society are voluntary, private and based on values shared with peer groups. The studies on civil society in India does pay attention to the need for constitutional democracy and places importance on the role of modern rational-legal intermediate institutions. These institutions could be the corporate structure of the economy, the judiciary, and the municipality the various institutions of local self-governance, the university and so on.

NGO as a sector that falls outside the market and the state boundary is an important component of the civil society. If a strong, vibrant and lively civil society is the foundation of modern open democratic polity, NGOs are the very life force for the civil society. Civil Society and NGOs seem to go together. One cannot exist without the other. Civil society in general is used to refer to that segment of society that interacts with the state, influences the state and yet is distinct from the state (Baviskar, 2001:7).

Oommen conceptualizes it as an autonomous space between state and the market that strives for a better society (Sharma, 1999: 47). A central component of the civil society, NGO, has grown rapidly in recent times. Though it has created a 'unclear, fluid space between civil society and the state' it has emerged as significant actor in domestic and international issues and programmes (Carroll, 1992; Reilly, 1995; Edwards and Hulme, 1996 cited in Carruthers, 2002).

Brett (1993: 26) contends that as private agencies, their (NGOs) development should strengthen civil society. By playing advocacy role and striving for institutional innovation, NGOs play an integrative role in society as a whole. Strengthening civil society means enhancing basic grassroots organizing skills, making the way to participate in the political process and creation of institutions. NGOs can contribute to strengthen civil society by organizing capacity building at the community level, by developing service delivery models, by providing inputs to policy debates, etc. (Renshaw, 1994:46-47).

Many who write about civil society and the third sector in the south seem to equate NGOs with civil society. NGOs within the civil society act as intermediaries between the unorganized masses and the state. Within the neo-liberal paradigm, there are several key democratic functions that civil society, or more specifically, organizations and associations within civil society can perform. These include empowering, educative, and advocacy roles (Korten, 1990:99).

The most radical part of NGO discourse is their emphasis on grassroots participation and development process. Civil society's ordering of politics and governance is the take off point for humane governance that contemporary social movement strives for. Human rights movement, ecology movements, women movements, the peace movements are all about restoring the first principles of the 'good' and the 'good life' in the conduct of human affairs. Such sources of regeneration lie more in the South than in the North, more in women than in men, more in the marginalized than in the powerful. 'This prompts Rajni Kothari to repose confidence in NGOs as they

are closer to the marginal and subjugated people and, hence better turned to the stirrings of civil society. D. L. Seth too delves into the merits of NGOs due to their non-governmental and non-profit nature' (Gupta, 1999: 239).

Unlike Marxists who emphasize only on economic concepts i.e., mode of production, forces of production and relations of production, neo-Marxist theorists also emphasize the importance of non-economic factors in the contemporary society. Therefore, it made room for socio-cultural processes while acknowledging economy a relevant factor. In other words, structural Marxists agree that there is no skeleton key (mode of production) to understand the society. They explore and analyze the increasing role of de-class (service class) and civil society in social transformation. Gramsci in his theory of hegemony distinguished between state and civil society. According to him state is that structure which includes legal system whereas civil society is that sphere that exists outside the state. It is voluntary in nature and accommodates various organisms i.e., trade union, political parties, media, universities, etc.

The struggle takes place in civil society to overcome dominant ruling class where various constituents of civil society become active to isolate dominant class. The most important actors in this process are political parties, unions, media, churches and various non-governmental associations. If civil society manages to overrule state apparatus, hegemony changes.

As mentioned earlier, being crucial components of civil society, NGOs initiate the efforts to ensure the people's participation in development process. Their target is not to capture the state but to strengthen civil society or citizen's role and of course, bringing about changes in the functioning of the state. As civil society has emerged as one of the three most important autonomous actors in the post colonial and post socialist society besides the state and the market (Oommen, 1996), it manifests itself through the world of NGOs working at the grassroots level, and activists voicing concerns on issues like environment, gender equality, human rights, sustainable development, development with equity, cultural diversity, etc. Tandon (1992:38) considers civil society as the first sector.

NGOs as public institutions of civil society play a significant role both politically and ideologically and strengthen the bases of civil society. Similarly, Bava (1997: 255-283) feels that there is a need to appreciate and accommodate NGOs as legitimate and dynamic institutions of civil society. According to her voluntary organizations comprising a large network of voluntary agencies, associations, social action groups, interests and pressure groups have a decisive and vital role to play in bringing about a planned socio-economic development in developing societies like India.

In this context, Habermas's 'public sphere' assumes significance. This is used most commonly to refer to the realm of public discourse and debate. In this realm individuals can discuss issues of common concerns. Private individuals, who gather together in public places such as salon, coffee house, etc. to discuss key issues of the day act as public sphere to add pressure on the decision making bodies through discussion and dissemination of the grievances. These discussions stimulate the periodical press. The bourgeoisie public sphere was not a part of state but was a sphere where the activities of state authorities could be confronted and criticized through logical arguments and debates (Encyclopedia, 1968). The sphere of public opinion connects civil society and the state. Habermas believes that the public sphere helps to free people from the distorted social forms under which they live. Aiming at emancipation from domination public sphere and its agents work for freedom and autonomy in discourse and eventually create conducive socio-economic environment. NGOs can be seen as making a public sphere in today's context. Because NGOs remain an important reference point and are independent of state power. The social community centers in and around the public sphere and within it the mass media shape social identities and life styles.

Sharma (1996: 28-41) attempts to theorize NGO vis-à-vis state. He argues that the emergence of NGOs does not imply either statelessness or the weakening of the state. He says one need to understand NGO vis-à-vis state in general and the Indian state in particular. He acknowledges that NGO sector covers large and diverse aspects of our polity and society. Drawing arguments from Durkheim (1957), he says that state is more organized than other groups and collectivities. The citizens are primary element of the state. The state as a political society with a domain and territory to function for the

welfare of its citizens. There are a set of norms and morals that state exercises over individuals or citizens. And citizens in turn reciprocate to the state in the form of civil morals. Durkheim distinguishes between state and political society. The state refers to the agents of sovereign authority while political society implies to the complex groups of which the state is the highest body. State and society share certain relations. But this is a very patterned one. According to Durkheim, 'state is a group of officials, sui-generis within which representation and acts of volition involving the collectivity are worked out, although they are not product of the collectivity. Hence, state's responsibility is to work out certain representations, which hold good for the collectivity' (cited in *ibid.* 50). In this context the type of direction and purpose of state's directives and programmes should be studied systematically. In this frame of reference, Sharma believes that NGOs in India cannot be anti state or an alternative to the state rather a vehicle of socio-economic and political transformation. In India the state is not so harsh on NGOs and acknowledges the significant contribution/role performed by this sector. Therefore, NGOs in India are neither independent nor are they state like organizations. Hence one may need a thorough understanding of NGOs in the backdrop of state and civil society.

In India, the civil liberty movements, which became more vibrant after the 1977-79 national emergency era, press for an active civil society. They are concerned with the democratization of structures of everyday life and focus on forms of communication and collective identity at the grassroots level (Panda, 1987:35). Within the domain of civil society, NGOs focus on the ways in which these can contribute to and influence state-society relations. While state structures are criticized as being rigidly bureaucratic and corrupt, NGOs are seen as civil society actors that are more accountable, responsive and committed to bringing about social change.

1.9 NGOs in India: A Review

NGO sector in India has a rich tradition of voluntarism where, voluntary organizations are spirited with the philosophy of philanthropy/charity. In ancient period, voluntarism was in vogue in the areas of education, cultural promotion, medicine, relief

activities during natural calamities such as floods, epidemics, droughts, etc. Voluntarism was also reflected in the role played by family, community and the society. During the British era there was steady growth of public associations. Organizations were formed for promotion of social, cultural and educational awareness among the people. This was the time when many reform movements took place. The organizations such as Brahmo Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Christian missionaries organization provided services to the needy and helpless. During freedom movement Gandhian self-sufficient call reinforced the spirit of voluntarism among the masses. During post independent era there was large-scale growth of NGOs. Garain (1998:93) says 'this era could be called the growth of NGOs as a sector in India'.

The legacy of India's philanthropic tradition and underneath religious values coupled with Gandhian philosophy of charity had contributed towards the rise and growth of VOs in India. Hence, we see the proliferation of voluntary organizations with the philanthropy as their principal objective.

India's liberal democratic regime is an added advantage for NGOs to flourish. The proliferation of NGOs in India can be attributed to an array of factors such as:

1. Shrinking role of the state (after Globalization);
2. Involvement of enlightened and enthusiastic middle class in NGO sector;
3. Efficiency displayed by NGOs in reaching out to the masses and delivering the goods (because of increasing presence of professional in NGOs);
4. Recognition from state because of pressures from international summits/declaration/protocols;
5. Increasing faith of donor agencies (because of the failure of governance by the state);
6. Liberal democratic regime permissive of activism in the civil society.

Pointing out the rapid rise of NGOs, Beteille (2001: 286-307) says that the last decade could be called as 'decade of NGOs'. Indian intellectuals cum activists have played active roles in setting up various independent voluntary associations, people's institutions, non political-party forums, etc. to downplay the highhandedness of the state. The activists

like Sunderlal Bahuguna, Vandana Shiva, Medha Patekar and Baba Amte (to name a few) have managed to put pressure on the state authorities through their intense campaigns, mobilization of the masses and scholastic writings. NGOs in India deal with a vast array of issues of contemporary importance including problems ranging from disaster management to environmental protection. The environmental NGOs in India are engaged in various micro and macro environmental movements aiming not only to restore the ecological order but also in establishing self-confidence among the people and building environmental awareness among them.

Riddell and Robinson (1995:140-142) observe that Christian and Gandhian approaches to voluntarism dominated in pre-independence phase. While Christian missionaries set up hospitals, schools and carry out welfare services for the poor, Gandhian approach combined social reform with village development activities. M. K. Gandhi's emphasis on grassroots development and service contributed to the spirit of voluntarism, volunteers. His emphasis on village India and community development and people's participation for nation building contributed immensely in the formation of a number of voluntary organizations. Similarly, Vinobha Bhave's Bhoodan Movement was also another landmark in the history of voluntarism in the early phase of independent India. As time passed by, VOs underwent many changes in both size and spirit.

Kothari (1990:72-87) sees the evolution of NGOs in India at three stages and generations.

Generation I: During this stage NGOs were non-party political agencies engaging themselves in whole lot of constructive activities. Those who did not join the mainstream politics and decided to carry the Gandhian mission of *Sarvodaya* and *gram-swaraj*, initiated rural reconstruction through such agencies.

Generation II: This generation includes social work agencies in rural areas. Many of these agencies are also found in rural areas and were supported by the social democratic state in the framework of community development and *Panchayati Raj* Institutions.

Generation III: During this phase, radical programs like employment guarantee scheme, adult education, etc. are undertaken that are primarily aimed at conscientizing and empowering people. According to Kothari while some NGOs in India have taken up issue oriented strategies by concentrating on specific movements such as environment, women, *dalits* and tribal movements some other focused on a wider net-working of issues through macro formations such as *Jan Vikash Andolan*, the *Bharat Jan Andolan*, the *Ajadi Bachao Andolan*, etc.

The NGOs in India have contributed to various movements either by extending organizational help or by perplexing and popularizing the message through their active participation in movements. Their involvement in Chipko, Baliapal, Apiko and many other movements show that they can rightly be called as agents of social movements. NGOs as movement organization initiated radical and proactive approach against the state and its mechanism. They opposed the state monopoly and its blatant power play by the governments without questioning the legitimacy of modern state, or showing inclination to directly take over state power. These intermediate institutions play an active role without showing any complacency (Gupta, 1999: 237-38).

Another factor for the proliferation of NGOs in recent times could be attributed to the availability of funds from various quarters. The global agencies like World Bank, IMF too stepped in and provided funds to NGOs. Multiple stakeholders associated with NGOs such as foreign donors including World Bank, government, growing culture of corporate philanthropy target population, beneficiaries contributed one way or the other for the furtherance of this sector. However, it is another matter as the flow of capital has been responsible for the shrinking voluntarism.

Many committed unemployed youths in India see NGO sector not only an opportunity to eke out their livelihood but also try to carve out a space for them. This is manifested in their active participation towards developing and establishing various peoples' institutions at grassroots level. This was another striking reason for the alarming growth of grassroots NGOs in recent decades.

Over the years, the style of NGOs has been changed. In the successive decades of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s there has been a general move from large institutional efforts to smaller group programmes. During 50s and 60s emphasis was on welfares where as in 70s focus was on development and radical activism. And during 90s we witness the juxtaposition of issues that range from gender to ecology. Pandey (1991:14- 20) argues that the perceived failure of macro organizations and the trickle down development approach may have encouraged the emergence of grassroots NGOs at the micro level in rural areas.

Though there has been rapid rise and growth of NGOs in India, it has not been documented properly. There has been no complete census of NGOs, the total number of NGOs is roughly estimated about 1,00,000 of which only 25,000 to 30,000 are active. The largest number of such organizations listed at one place is the Ministry of Home affairs, Government of India under the FCRA Act 1976, as of 31st December 1989, these numbered 12,313 only (Jain, 1997:126-127).

According to Dhanagare (1988:43) NGOs in India have passed through three stages of development namely, the stage of social welfares, the stage of radical nationalism and the stage of social orientation. During first stage, NGOs were involved in community welfares and work with social workers at micro level. In the second phase of development, they were engaged in establishing alternative structures through mass mobilization while during third stage, they worked for building alternative social order through localized struggle of marginalized sections.

According to Beteillie, the hope of modern Indian Society lies in the elaboration and proper functioning of these rational legal intermediate institutions (cited in Gupta, 1999: 237-38). It is indeed a fact that the nature of political system of a society considerably influences the types of voluntary associations and their proliferation. It is likely that under an authoritarian regime, voluntary associations that mediate between the state and the citizen may not proliferate (Oommen, 1975:167).

Let us discuss some of the theoretical aspects responsible for the emergence and rapid growth of NGOs at the global level in general and in Indian context in particular.

1.10 Theoretical Arguments on the Emergence of NGOs

Emergence of voluntary action can be traced through two theoretical assumptions. First, due to the rise of industrialization and urbanization, primary group relationship is giving the way for the emergence of individualism. Under the changing condition, the individuals have become alienated and atomized. Against this backdrop, voluntary associations have emerged to espouse and uphold voluntarism and collectivism, thus, promoting group relations. Voluntary association should be understood along with a number of variables and a number of alternate situations as the 'structure and functions of voluntary associations vary from society to society and within the same society, as it undergoes transformation' (Oommen, 1975: 162). Second, the rise of NGOs could be stressed in the context of the growing importance of civil society. The genesis of this argument draws from the writings of Alex. D Tocqueville who contends that the citizens' lack of ability to resist the power of the state set the stage for these intermediary institutions. And NGOs could be seen one such organization.

We observe a NGO and Social movement interface in the literature. Herein we have attempted to understand NGOs and their functioning in terms of new social movement theories subsequently to develop a theoretical framework for the study. As has been said earlier, the problem formulation has been conceived on the basis of the assumptions of new social movement theories and collective action perspective.

1.11 Collective Action Perspective

Collective action paradigm is rooted in social movement perspective, which emphasizes on collective efforts of the people. Therefore, it is worth mentioning of action paradigm before we move on to relate how collective action and movement are interrelated and how NGOs can be examined within the ambit of collective action

framework. Social movement can be seen as a collective mobilization, seeking changes in the existing system and practice, either through institutional or non-institutional means.

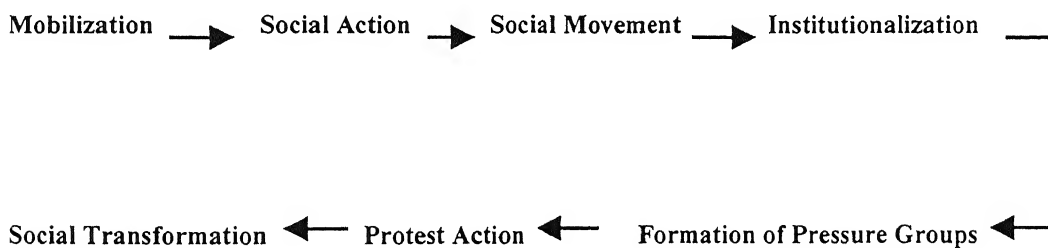
Weberian social action paradigm is based on three forms of actions such as traditional, affective and rational. Rational action can further be divided into two like formal-rational and value rational actions (Scott, 1995:76). The system of action can structurally be differentiated at three levels i.e., interaction, the organizational and the societal. Each of them is relatively an autonomous system of action having its own mechanisms and processes. These levels of action can manifest themselves through three different types of collective actors i.e., the groups, the organizations and the movements. Hence, NGOs can be analyzed and understood as an autonomous system of action that exist in the interface of voluntary associations existing at the interaction level, and the movements existing at the societal level. Thus, there exists a chain of relationship between these groups. In this context Tourine's (1985: 749-87) identity oriented approach would be worth mentioning. Tourine's identity approach involves three dimensions namely, (i) the consciousness of the actor, his/her self perception and identity, (ii) the force against which identity is formed (formation of self identity), (iii) a situation and a framework for action in which actors define themselves through collectively defining the situation. Tourine contends that it is action, which generates the objectives, and norms of actors eventually bring in collective orientations. Collective action often relies on the initiative of committed leaders who supply information, resources and lay the foundation for subsequent co-operation among narrowly self-interested actors (Encyclopedia 1996). He conceives of society not merely as a set of institutions but a web of social relationships. Hence, sociologists job is to elucidate social action by which such relationships are produced and transformed (Augustine, 1995:17). His identity approach further argues that the collective identity formation involves direct participation of actors, which he termed as expressive action. And when collective action is recognized, action shifts from expressive to instrumental. As far as actors' involvement in social action is concerned, they also gain from their involvement in collective action. They get motivated and their self-assertion and inherent differences get exposed due to their involvement in collective action. Therefore, researchers have to find out ways in which individuals

become involved, the concerns that motivate their involvement and what they obtain from their participation in a collective project.

Collective action can be seen as a process constructed by the actors who choose to interact with others in order to define their identity. The collective identity appears the key factor in explaining the process of mobilization. Collective action should be understood at three different levels namely, meaning, identity and cognition. Meanings are part and parcel of a learning process, which leads to individual actors to transform themselves through their participation in collective action. Similarly, at cognition level, actor creates a new identity. It is by the elaboration of 'cognitive praxis' that social actors reconstruct their world vision and redefine their cognitive identity, and transform their action through social movement. These processes are influenced by political factors and result from the interaction of movement actors with their opponents (Ibid. 250). Collective action takes place when there is relative deprivation, collective interest and a sharp reaction to economic or political conflict (Tourine, 1985). And in the present context, environmental crisis is a fit in case to analyze from this perspective.

Figure 1.1

Social Movement Paradigm



Gamson (1987:1) feels that NGOs should be understood as institutionalized representation of neo-social movements. They initiate the movement and eventually form an identity and go beyond the structural roles of a class. The NGOs believe that the disadvantaged individuals need to be stimulated in order to organize them and take a collective action. They believe that the combined efforts of grassroots organizations can be converted into movements and have potential to influence policies and politics at national level (Ahmed and Latif, 1998: 208).

1.12 NGOs and New Social Movement Paradigm

Social movement theories pertaining to NGOs dominant in the 1990s are all rooted in the collective social action approach. Noteworthy among these are; (1) the cyclical theory of Alain Touraine, (2) the linear theories of social movements by (a) Claus Offe (b) J Habermas and (3) Resource Mobilization Theory of Zald and McCarthy combining the collective action theory with the organizational theory. These theories confined their scopes to national level. Hence, later emerged social movement theories at global level known as Third system theory. These social movement theories had a major bias that made these difficult to be used as models for theorizing for NGOs, particularly for environmental NGOs, for, these were biased towards politics at the national level and not grounded on politics at the local level. Lastly, the theory at global level propounded by Korten and Nerfin known as the third system theory, conceived the development crisis between the North and the South as a generalized one encompassing economical, financial, social, cultural and ecological all at the same time. It reduces the environment and development crisis to apolitical and global one, not to specific environmental and local ones (Finger, 1994:49-60).

The origin of NGOs can be attributed to the initiative of an individual of the rank of notability or a group in the social movements (Glagow 1989, cited in Garain 1998: 90). Some of the general factors causing the origin/emergence of NGO are:

- (a) To ease out societal conflict and tension;
- (b) To face the disaster and crisis promptly and effectively;
- (c) To oppose anti-popular government decisions and policies;
- (d) Propagating an ideological stance;
- (e) Promoting grassroots efforts and mobilizing people to create awareness, etc.

Rise of contemporary micro social movements, those pertaining to civil rights, environment, peace, reform, etc. rely on the support of “conscience constituencies” (McCarthy & Zald, 1977 cited in Hammack 2001: 304). These movements are entrusted

with professionalization, autonomy, and motivated by altruism and public-spiritedness (Jenkins cited in Ibid. 304).

Either to fight for or to resist a change whichever may be the basic aim of any social movement, a collective effort is presupposed. The successful collective mobilization on a sustained manner results in institutionalization and it ultimately paves the way for social transformation. Social movement can be seen as a collective mobilization, seeking change of structure either through institutional or non-institutional means. The culmination of such movements are often the results of the rise and growth of interest groups, pressure groups, influencing bodies, opportunity structures, etc. These groups also play many responsible roles in the aftermath of movements in terms of the institutionalizing the results of the movement.

On the one hand, there is linear form of societal transformation from modernism to post-modernism, industrialism to post-industrialism and materialism to post-materialism, on the other hand there is increasing distance of the state from the civil society. This trend shows that a new representation of society is emerging (Singh 2001: 87). 'The new representation of society defines itself by new types of movements and collective social actions' (Ibid. 88). And this can be observed as there is a growing collective actions and social voluntarism in the contemporary social setting ... (Ibid. 95). In this context, it is worth mentioning about the nature and structure of new social movements (NSMs).

NSMs are context specific and issue bound. And these are important agents of social transformation, because NSMs are generally responses to issues stemming from civil society. These may concern issues pertaining to everyday life and not pertaining to economy or state (Cohen, 1985: 663-716).

The rise of NSMs in recent decades can be attributed to the rise of various strong interest groups and also to the near total absence of macro movements i.e., working class movement, peasant movement, trade union movements, and the radical movements like

Naxalite movement. These NSMs in India have often erupted due to the multiple modernity and identities, which are basically centered on local issues and are also referred to 'as non-party political forums, grassroots popular initiatives, a single issue based anti state movements' (Oommen, 2001: 1-16). The newness about new social movement is that these oppose the tyranny of state/government in power without questioning the very existence and legitimacy of the state. These also do not intend to directly takeover power from them by overthrowing the regime. The intermediary institutions (i.e., NGOs) play a significant role in the outbreak of these movements and also bring these movements into fruition (Gupta, 1999: 237-38). Thus, these are essentially anti-systemic and not anti-regime movements. The ecology/environment, human rights, women empowerment movements can be seen as the manifestations of such new social movements. Finger (1994:49) observes that when collective action, the prerequisite for a movement is centered around new issues, such as environmental, cultural and life style issues, we call these new social movements.

Let us identify, what is new about the NSMs. To add to what has already been said here about the NSMs, we may draw upon Guha's (1987: 12-15) formulations, to whom NSMs have been experienced in areas like women, ecology, science, health and civil liberties. These could be 'defensive' seeking to protect the civil society from the overpowering state and could be also 'assertive' seeking to change the civil society from within. Further, NSMs are small, scattered but nevertheless, because of convergence of interests and ideologies and network coordination, these are increasingly visible. These movements have brought to the fore the conflict over productive resources like, land, water, forests and new services like health care and science education. These are also distinct as they operate almost wholly outside the traditional political party system. In the developing countries, their works are towards attaining distributive justice in sharing economic resources and services and in the developed countries, their works are usually towards attaining wider quality of life. Ideologically, the encouraging features of these NSMs are by and large their less orthodox and less doctrinaire by nature. Besides, NSMs have no obsession to capture state power but they do aim at bringing about change in state apparatus and various social institutions.

In relation to classical movements in India, NSMs have never been substitutes, as class struggle in India within the factory and over the land and its productions are still important today. Instead of replacing the classical movements, the NSMs have supplemented them, as the latter have emerged in newer areas where the former have not emerged. NSMs remain effective by retaining their identity, engaging parties in dialogue, yet remaining outside their control. Again, the NSMs in India, unlike those in the west have no mass participation; rather have thinner and local support bases only.

Multiple actors like students, intellectuals, activists and also the affected population itself play lead roles in these movements. And those who direct these movements are mainly 'middle class' based. The actors from the middle class try to bring about changes through different means such as scholastic writings, mobilizing people in a methodical/strategic manner, using media in their favor, etc. May be because of their middle class preponderance the NSMs function non-hierarchically. Some also argue that while middle class plays the facilitating role, lower class (affected class/population) at the grassroots level participates in large numbers in NSMs (D'monte 1989: 19).

Some other more general but distinct features of NSMs as articulated by Frank and Fuentes (1987: 1503-1510) are:

1. NSMs may display much variety and changeability, but have in common individual mobilization involving morality, justice and a social power for a purpose. These movements have little or no membership ties, having a spontaneous interest base;
2. NSMs are cyclical in two ways. First, these respond to changing socio-political and economic circumstances, even perhaps to ideological fluctuations. Second, these movements have their own life cycles;
3. Mostly NSMs seek autonomy rather than state power. People increasingly come to regard the state and its institutions including political parties as ineffective to deal with the emerging crisis. It is assumed that either the state or its

political process is not willing to or is incapable to face up the emergent crisis. Hence, these are part of their search for alternative within the civil society;

4. Whether 'defensive' or 'assertive' NSMs are anti-systemic although these have least success in replacing a system. Nevertheless, there are evidences of occasional success in introducing limited changes there of;
5. Offering new interpretations and solutions to the problematic of 'delinking from capitalism and transition to socialism' are also treated as NSMs. Therefore, 'delinking' has come to be 'changed links' and 'existing socialism' is replaced by 'utopian socialism';
6. Some of the NSMs are overlapping in their memberships. Being compatible, these are permissive of coalition with others. At the same time, same are competing and conflicting with each other;
7. As the NSMs write their own script, any prescription from outside/high as where they should go or how should they get there, are found to be counter productive.

Another significant aspect of NSMs is that these generally evolve in grassroots politics and grassroots collective actions. Often these initiate micro-movements of smaller groups targeting localized issues with limited institutional base. These movements take the help of existing intermediary institutions (NGOs) and in the course of time produce organized democratic associations. But various associations i.e., voluntary associations and non-party political forums, and ideological groups also set the stage for such movements. To accelerate the process, urban middle class utilizing skills at their disposal in research, documentation, and media communication play a significant role in spreading the campaigns and public awareness on various topical issues (Sethi, 1998: 408). Furthermore, the shrinking power of the state creating room for openness and transparency and inability to control the voices raised for genuine reasons make the way for an active and insurgent civil society. These developments enthuse to provide an opportunity and space for the new actors to take part in the process (Singh, 2001: 87). These new actors are found in the domain of civil society. NGOs are seen as one of those new actors within civil society that promote people's participation, people's mobilization

and people's empowerment. These are also seen as motivators and facilitators of the promotion and development of collective action. NGOs mobilize people for movements and the success of social movements give rise to formation of various pressure groups and other intermediary institutions like popular grassroots (village level) organizations. The combined efforts of grassroots organizations and NGOs are converted into movements with potentials to influence state policies and politics (Ahmed and Latif, 1988: 208). Korten (1990: 124) observes that in the past three decades people's movements have been reshaping thoughts and actions on the environment, human rights, women, peace and population. The progress of these movements has been pervasive though it is yet to be established empirically. As these are driven not by budgets or organizational structures, but rather by ideas, by a vision of a better world, with all probabilities, it can be said that these fulfill their mission effectively.

The success and impact of the NSMs lie in its efforts in disseminating information through intense campaigns, and in cultivating networks of contacts maintained through leaflet writings, informal gatherings, organizing discussion forums, etc. (Crook, 1994: 154). These movements are articulated through catchy slogans, icons and appeals. Thus, from the above discussion it could be inferred that new social movements have emerged as a societal force that presses for intra-systemic, quasi-structural social changes with vigor. And this has been aided and abetted by the NGOs actively. It can be observed that NSMs, unlike classical movements, are facilitated by community based grassroots organizations and intermediary grassroots organizations (i.e., NGOs). The NGOs which canvass for the social change and transformation on different issues through intense networks, campaign and people's mobilization can also be seen as facilitators of NSMs, observes Mencher (1999: 2085). Habermas's 'public sphere' and Gramsci's 'war of position' suggest that these people's associations always pose a challenge to the hegemony of state power. The critical mass (that forms the core of the movement) emerges out of this sphere (civil society), and it is this critical mass that takes the initiative in raising and sustaining the protests. As people's participation in the form of collective action forms the basis of the social movement and that NGOs are organizing people to contribute to such collective actions, NGOs can be considered as agents of the

NSMs. In an effort to study NGOs vis-à-vis social movements, Dhanagare (1988:38-39) observes that NGOs' emphasis on participatory mode of intervention provides a stage for collective action. Experiences show that NGOs have been successful in developing an adequate methodology of working with the people, which leads to the emergence of autonomous, strong and lasting movements.

In popularizing environmental movements, NGOs at grassroots level largely deal with awareness building campaigns among people and mobilize them for protest actions. Because, without adequate awareness about the importance of preserving their natural resource bases, it is very unlikely that people will get mobilized. Potter (1996:28) also observes that environmental movements are made up of diverse NGOs, groups/individuals that generally share a set of beliefs about the environment and the ways to overcome the crisis. The well-known environmental movements in India such as Chipko, Apiko, Narmada Bachao Andolan, Chilika Bachao Andolan, etc. have been spearheaded by the NGOs (Jain, 1997: 131).

Pointing out the fact that NGOs do play a decisive role in initiating movements, Edward and Hulme (1992:24) argue that the unified efforts of grassroots organizations can coalesce into movements. When the movements get consolidated and institutionalized, these result in formation of various new institutions/organizations. In the process, these organizations act as pressure groups and influence the state politics, policies and decisions. Hence, there exists an inextricable connection between NGOs and social movements. To put it differently, NGOs necessitate movements and the culmination of movements result in the rise of intermediary organizations/institutions and pressure groups such as NGOs. Thus, they seem to be complementary to each other.

The NSMs aim for intra systemic change. Instead of talking about revolution they try to bring about reforms within the system without targeting the overthrow of the governance or state regime.

Strategic networks are the building blocks of social movements. It is a temporary alliance of individuals and organizations through which their resources are combined in

pursuit of shared, defined and consequential goals that strengthens the movement's position against the major opposing forces. These commonly reach beyond the formal voluntary sector to engage students, media, universities, agencies of government, and responsible business organizations. In many instances they link local, national, and international groups (Korten, 1990: 2). NSMs seek answers to questions relating to peace, disarmament, nuclear pollution, nuclear war, ecology, environment, human rights, etc. Their concerns go beyond the class paradigm. NSMs generally evolve a grassroots politics, grassroots actions; often initiate micro-movements of small groups, targeting localized issues with a limited institutional base. They produce horizontally organized democratic associations that are loosely federated at national levels. According to Cohen (Cohen, 1985: 667), NSMs generally respond to issues stemming from civil society. They target the social domain of the civil society rather than the economy or state, raising issues concerned with the demoralization of the structures of everyday life and focusing on forms of communication and collective identity.

The rise of new social movements may be seen as the emergence of new forms of mobilizations in a postmodern condition. They reflect a commitment to a politics of egalitarianism or radical democracy in which the working class hardly plays a role (Augustine 1997, cited in Sharma, 1999: 45-46).

Social action groups are the social actors whose main goal is to promote social change, i.e., to bring about social transformation. They are people's organizations and are democratic, small, locally based groups, which represent interests of their members (UNDP, 1993 cited in Sharma, 1999). They are part of a social movement, which aims at challenging the power structure. Thus a new social movement can be seen as a network of groups and organizations that are unified by a shared conception, 'movement' with specific goals by deliberate attempts on the part of the groups and organizations to ally themselves with one another through joint action, coalitions, umbrella groups, etc. and so forth, and by shared beliefs and ideals among the members of the groups and organizations. Such a definition recognizes that 'groups' are collective actors on the interaction level, 'organizations, are collective actors on a more dissociated level of social relations, and 'social movements' are networks of collective actors that may, under

certain circumstances, be able to forge themselves into a single large-scale organization (Scott, 1995).

The recognition of a shared identity coupled with previously existing social ties, greatly influence the ability of a group to translate common interests into mobilization towards a common objective (Tilly, 1978). A large body of research demonstrates that those most central in social networks are most likely to join social movements or otherwise become politically active and that social connections are the conduits through which individuals join movements (Knoke, 1990: 1041-63). Thus, intense networks increase the possibility of the formation of a movement. On this dimension, NGOs held a distinct advantage over others.

1.12.1 Tourine's Theory

Tourine's approach on social movement is based on following criteria. Firstly, he does not consider social movement as abnormal occurrences. Secondly, the cultural orientation of a particular society involves both social conflict and social relations of domination.

According to Tourine, three principles must co-exist in any social movement namely:

1. The principle of identity
2. The principle of opposition
3. The principle of totality

Tourine argues that social movements must strive for power if they want to be successful and become part of modernization or development process. They must exercise power at the nation-state level. Without discarding traditional nation-state philosophy (top-down), he says that social movement must conquer nation-state and this can be done through participation of the people in decision-making bodies. Tourine assumes that all social forces must struggle to participate in nation-state level.

The theory is based on the assumption that Social movements occur for similar reasons and have similar destinies. The theory looks at movements in terms of political

cycles. This results in the rise of new social movements. NSM, such as the green movement, are seen as the equivalent in a post-industrial society of the old SMs, such as the labour movement, in an industrial society. By locating NSMs within civil society, views them as pure forms of social activity outside the political domain.

The application of Touraine's theory puts NGOs in a position where they must involve in decision-making process. However, the theory limits itself by not questioning nation-state philosophy, which is otherwise is one of the major concerns for NGOs. The handicap of the theory is that it narrows down social movements merely to political participation. Social movement is a clearly structured and identifiable organization, which has the explicit goal of grouping members with a view to the protection or promotion of certain objectives basically with a social connotation. It seeks recognition and acceptance of its ideas, interests, goals and values.

Touraine's theory (1981) intensively analyses the social movements in terms of political cycles. He views social movements as striving for political power at the national level. Social movements, if they want to be a part of the modernization process, must strive for political power at the nation-state level. To deserve the label, a social movement must be struggling to participate in national political power. While defining social movements, Touraine assumes that all social forces must struggle to participate in power at the nation state level. Some national NGOs have been striving for political power at the national level to use the political system as a means to act upon society in general, and to solve specific problems in particular. INGOs do much more than the geographical limitation of Touraine's theory and its conceptualization of social movement as a purely political form of activism and its reference to national politics alone ill suits his theory to account for INGOs (Finger, 1994).

1.12.2 Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource mobilization theory (RMT) combines collective action theory with organizational theory. RMT assumes that it is rational for citizens to participate in the political system, which is simply the steering system of society and not necessarily the

nation-state referred to by Marxists. Society is therefore, basically an aggregate of rational individual actors and not necessarily, as Marxists saw it, a structured mass of (potentially) responsible and autonomous citizens who always remain defined in relation to the nation-state. Moreover, society, according to RMT, is made up of multiple organizational structures. Social Movements should be seen as organizations that aggregate rational individuals. The origin of RMT could be traced to the conceptualization of consumers' movements and public interest groups in the United States. RMT continues to reflect a typically American approach to public participation; social movements remain simply as a means of rational actors who choose if they want to make a difference in the political system. RMT stresses the ways in which movements are shaped by and work within limits set by the resources (especially economic, political and communications resources) available to the group and the organizational skills of movement leaders in utilizing those resources. Therefore, according to RMT, social movements are organizations that help rational actors participate more effectively in the political system than in other kinds of organizations or in purely individual capacities. To help them make a difference, social movements organizations (SMOs) mobilize various resources for example, skills and values.

Such organizations quite naturally, compete with lobbies and political parties. It also studies the role of so-called political opportunity structures to explain social movements. It strives for mobilization of resources for political participation. Political opportunity structures is the branch of RMT that probably comes closest to the ones inspired by Marxism, because it ultimately defines social movements with respect to and as a function of nation-state and their political structures. The RMT assumes that participation is usually in the national political system. National NGOs can, indeed, be captured by RMT, but as such they become lobbies. This fundamentally functionalist definition of NGOs, social movements, and, more generally, public participation neglects the political dimensions of social movements highlighted by Habermas, Touraine and Offe. RMT has a strong bias towards (individual) rational choice, which in turn, neglects the emotional dimensions of social activism.

Resource mobilization theory (RMT) provides a theoretical framework to understand NGOs as agents of social movement that generate collective action. It helps in understanding how convergence of various elements such as skill, knowledge, labor, etc. contribute in generating specific form of collective action. Nonetheless, mobilization of resources remains a significant aspect for social movement organizations.

The RMT emphasizes variety of resources and, the relationship between social movements and the media, authorities, and other parties. It discusses the level of interaction among movement organizations. By combining both collective action theory and organization theory, it avoids macro level analysis and narrows down the broad problems into small and concrete problems. The theory discusses two basic prerequisites to mobilize collective action namely, sophisticated organizational forms and modes of communication. The variables such as organization, interests, resources, opportunities and strategies for large-scale organization are considered crucial. McCarthy and Zald (1977) assert that social movements depend on changes in resources; organizations always seek opportunities for collective action.

Emphasizing on collective action, RMT assumes that it is rational for citizens to participate in the political system, which is the steering system of the society. According to this theory, society is made up of multiple organizational structures. To help actors, different organizations mobilize various resources, skills and values. The assumptions of this theory are:

1. It is rational for citizens to participate in the political system, which can be seen as a steering system and not antagonistic to state machinery. It does not alienate itself from the people as a class;
2. Society is made up of multiple organizational structures that are aggregate of rational individuals (like NGOs). The efforts undertaken by them culminate as social movement;
3. NGOs function as lobbies, pressure groups and not as an instrument of class struggle, and threat to the nation state.
4. NGOs help rational actors; participate more efficiently and effectively in the

political system, implying that more popular participation would make a difference. Social movement organizations (NGOs also forms one of the constituents of movement organizations) mobilize various resources, i.e., skills and values to make a difference or to bring about social transformation. The political opportunity structure of the state helps explaining the effectiveness of NGOs in contributing towards social movements. Popular participation is confined to the national system (not necessarily international).

It is contended that social movements may or may not be based upon the grievances of the presumed beneficiaries. Individuals and organizations may also provide major sources of support. However, in some cases the supporters who provide resources, facilities may lack commitment for the specific movement. Therefore, RMT accepts this concern and asserts that social movement organizations have a number of strategic tasks to play. These include mobilizing resources, supporters, neutralizing or transforming the mass and elite sections into sympathizers to achieve the targets. These strategies, tactics are influenced by inter organizational competition, co-operation and net-works.. Social movement organizations generate resources such as legitimacy, labor and also material support. Some organizations may depend heavily upon volunteers while others may depend upon purchased labor. The theory further argues that the resources must be controlled or mobilized before taking up actions.

Kitschelt (1991: 323-347) discusses some propositions in his analysis of RMT. The most relevant proposition in relation to NGOS is:

1. Individuals know what they want to accomplish through collective action. Individuals are able to calculate cost benefit of participation in collective action;
2. Collective organizations transform amorphous masses and convert it to purposive movements. Though organizations are not identical with movement organizations, they are the backbone of collective struggles;

3. Knowledge, money and labor along with solidarity and legitimacy are the resources that enable movements to build organizations and launch effective struggles to attain their objectives;
4. Resource mobilization theorists employ the notion of social movement in a very broad sense. It covers all activities, beliefs and preferences to bring about changes in society by collective mobilization;

All these propositions can be applied on environmental NGOs as mostly these organizations carry out their programmes by creating awareness among the masses and mobilize them for the cause. They obtain support from the existing 'opportunity structures' i.e., media, support organizations, etc to unfold their activities.

1.12.3 NGO and the Third System Theory

The third system theory stems from the existing 'crisis' situations such as economic, ecological, social, cultural, ideological and political. To face the crisis situation, people's mobilization and movement is necessary. This can practically be possible only when people are motivated and given enough opportunities to participate in activities such as, projects, advocacy, decision-making, etc. Hence, Third system theorists observe a growing movement that is seeking control over the crisis that threatens everybody's security. It is therefore a movement of all people who suffer in one way or the other from the current development crisis whether economically, socially, culturally or ideologically. The movement is highly diverse because of its being a global phenomenon. The theory argues that solution to these problems lies in political sphere particularly by the politically most relevant actors i.e., people.

According to Nerfin (1986:5)

In contrast with government power – the Prince –and economic power- the merchant- there is an immediate and autonomous power, sometimes obvious always present: the power of the people. Some, among the people, become aware of it, get together, act and become citizens. The citizens and their association, or movements, when they neither search nor exercise governmental or economic

power, constitute the third system. By contributing to make visible what is hidden, the third system is an expression of the people's autonomous power.

Third system politics is oriented towards the satisfaction of all human needs not merely the basic needs. It is autonomous, endogenous and hence sustainable. It aims for structural transformations for increasing people's power. People get organized in order to develop themselves by themselves and for themselves. Some of the vital features of third system theory are the realization of immediate projects, advocacy and holding people responsible for their acts and decisions. (Nerfin, 1986), David Korten (1990) sees the citizens' movements as playing four critical roles (i.) advocacy, which includes redefining policies, (ii) transforming institutions and helping people define, internalize and actualize a people-centered development vision, (iii) System monitoring, protesting that facilitates reconciliation with justice and (iv) implementing development programmes. The third system theorists perceive a fundamental opposition between the oppressors and the oppressed. This reveals their orientation towards Marxism. Logically enough, the solution to the problem as defined by the third system theory has to be sought on political level most immediately by focusing on people's participation. The citizens (people) and the movements emanate from popular participation and involvement neither search nor exercise governmental or economic power, but constitute the third system. Thus, the third system is an expression of the people's autonomous power.

The third system politics leads to " people centered development " characterized by the following basic principles.

1. Sovereignty resides with the people who are the real social actors of positive change;
2. To exercise their sovereignty and assume responsibility for the development of themselves and their communities, the people must control their own resources, have an access to relevant information and have the means to make the government officials accountable;
3. Those who assist the people with their development must recognize that it is

they who are participating in support of the people's agenda and not vice versa.

Therefore, third system politics is all about increasing people's participation in decision making at all levels of society. The importance of this theory lies in its putting people first and pointing out people as the link between global and local levels. People seek a political expression of this linkage. NGOs could be seen as actors, which can encapsulate the link between the global action and the people. Third system is about citizens participating in global decision-making.

The people can contribute substantially in advocacy through redefining policies, transforming institutions, and helping people define and implement developmental programmes (Finger, 1994:56). According to Nerfin (1986) people can solve the problems and they should be seen as crucial political actors. They should neither be associated with the government sector nor the corporate or business sector. They, however, can form associations, movements through establishing wider networks and linkages. As they are not directly involved with the exercises of government or economic power, they constitute the third force/system. The crux of the third system theory is that the people get organized in order to develop themselves by themselves for themselves, what Korten (1990:14) calls 'people centered development'. Third sector, which is comprised of non-governmental and non-corporate bodies, mobilizes resources by persuading people who share a common interest and vision, and encourage them to make contribution in terms of resources, time, money and, most importantly the voluntary spirit. In a word, it mobilizes 'voluntary social energy' (Holloway, 1998:38-39). In this noble venture the responsive citizens, intellectuals and activists play a significant role. In this context, the environmental NGOs proclaim themselves as people's organizations and focus on people's participation in a bid to sensitize and mobilize them about the environmental issues. The community participation and micro solution in forms of popular participation is the need of the hour and not the macro strategies and methods. Finger corroborating this line of argument calls this process as 'learning our way out'

wherein village communities, peoples' institutions play a significant role in this process (Finger, 1994:63-65).

1.12.4 Finger's Learning our way out Formula

Finger (1994:64) articulates his ideas to overcome the existing crisis particularly environmental crisis in his formulation of learning way out. He argues that change in perspective can help us to learn our way through the crisis. Those who promote traditional problem solving strategies should be encouraged to participate in the learning process. Experts promulgating solution should join the group of learners working collectively with real people on concrete problems. Teaching and preaching readymade solutions to individuals must be replaced by collective, vertical, horizontal, and cross-disciplinary learning. Thus, learning our way out will be a collective endeavor. Society must have to promote collective learning units. Nation states and other social actors whose mission is only development are probably not appropriate learning units. Villages, communities might be appropriate to start learning our way out. Environmental NGOs free themselves from traditional politics, change the reference point and privileged means of action, grow in numbers and interconnectedness and become increasingly transnational. They contribute to social change and transformation. They become agents of social learning and therefore significant contributors to learning way out. And for that Environmental NGOs build communities, which play active role in fostering social learning.

1.12.5 Four Generation Strategies of Voluntary Organizations

Korten's (1990: 113-132) formulation of generation strategies of NGOs suggests that NGOs follow different strategies to achieve their objectives. Let us look at his articulation of strategies of different generations.

Generation I: First generation strategies basically involve the NGOs who deliver services to meet the deficiencies experienced by natural disasters, tragedies, etc. These could be seen as relief organizations.

Generation II: NGOs who develop capacity building and make efforts to make people self-reliant can be categorized under this strategy. This can also be referred as community development strategy. Under this strategy NGOs carry out development activities in the rural areas. Empowerment is the watchword under this strategy.

Generation III: Third generation strategies highlight on building sustainable form of development by looking beyond individual community. It seeks change in a wider context. It focuses on creating a policy and institutional setting through the effective advocacy programmes.

Generation IV: In fourth generation strategies NGOs involve in fomenting social movements through their people's mobilization programme. NGOs form networks with other organizations and groups.

Table No. 1.6: Strategies of Development-Oriented NGOs: Four Generations

	First Relief and welfare	Second Community development	Third Sustainable systems development	Fourth People's movements
Problem Definition	Shortage	Local inertia	Institutional and policy constraints	Inadequate mobilizing vision
Time Frame	Immediate	Project life	Ten to twenty years	Indefinite future
Scope	Individual or family	Neighborhood or village	Region or nation	National or global
Chief actors	NGO	NGO plus Community	All relevant public and private institutions	Loosely defined networks of people & organizations
NGO Role	Doer	Mobilizer	Catalyst	Activist/Educator
Management Orientation	Logistics management	Project management	Strategic management	Coalescing and Energizing Self- managing Networks
Development Education	Starving Children	Community Self- Help	Constraining policies and Institutions	Spaceship Earth

Source: Korten (1990: 117) Getting to the 21st Century.

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Table No. 1.7: Offe's analysis of old and new Paradigms

	Old Paradigm	New Paradigm
Actors	Socio-economic groups acting as groups (in the groups' interest and involved in distributive conflict	Socio-economic groups acting not as such, but on behalf of ascriptive collectivities
Issues	Economic growth and distribution, military, and social security, social control	Preservation of peace, environment, human rights, and unalienated forms of work
Values	Freedom and security of private consumption and material progress	Personal autonomy and identity as opposed to centralized control etc.
Modes of action	(a) Internal: formal organization, large scale representative association (b) External: pluralist or corporatist interest intermediation; political party; competition, majority rule	(a) Internal: Informality, spontaneity, low degree of horizontal and vertical differentiation (b) External: Protest politics based on demands formulated in predominantly negative terms

Source: Offe, Clause: 1985, pp. 832

From the above discussions, it is clear that NGOs have emerged as a social force in the civil society domain and are involved in various socio-economic issues. Hence, it has had a potential research agenda. This has led to many pertinent questions like if they have emerged as a force then to what extent they have been successful in achieving their objectives and how do they establish themselves in advocating people's issues?

How do they increase their effectiveness, efficiency, accountability and legitimacy? How do voluntary organizations build constituencies, and involve them in the development process? How do they create public awareness of complex and rapidly evolving issues (including changing organizational roles)? How can voluntary organizations preserve their relative autonomy and civil character given the level of dependency on government funds, while at the same time collaborating with government in human centered development programming? How do they resolve the tension between expectations of official donors and those of Southern NGOs and other constituencies? What are the factors contribute to their smooth functioning? and so on.

One common argument emerges from the above mentioned theories is that social movements require resources and organizational support, and the culmination of movements set the stage for the rise of pressure groups that eventually get institutionalized. Therefore, the present research problem has been formulated and conceptualized in the background of these theories.

The present study makes a modest attempt to examine the issue of NGO effectiveness and the factors contribute towards their effective functioning. The methodology chapter spells out subsequent methods undertaken to carry out the present study.

Jurgen Habermas (1981) conceives social movements as the expansion of alienated social reality, which results in a healthy rational reaction against it. He argues that when technical rationality invades the life world, everyday socio-cultural sphere where people live, people will turn reactive. This will result in movement. Habermas argues that citizen's reaction may also be irrational. Therefore, social movements may be seen as a healthy yet irrational reaction. According to him the intensive participation of people in the life world will bring the dividends. The life world includes the everyday socio-cultural reality. Inspired by Marxism, Habermas sees the evolution of the society in terms of labour on one hand and interaction on the other. In between these two, the political system ensures that technical rationality does not invade the life-world. An overwhelming technical rationality is synonymous with a weakening of political system.

Habermas' theory can be applied to NGOs. In Habermas' view it is particularly obvious that the primary function of a social movement is to strengthen the political system to restore its autonomy level.

1.13 Problem Formulation

From the literature, it is clear that the 'third sector' research has emerged as an important, potent field of research agenda for social scientists in recent times. Despite the ambiguities and vagueness prevailed in conceptualizing and the operationalizing the NGO sector, scholars have undertaken studies to explore and examine this sector. Though the research on NGOs is still in its nascent phase, it has been widely acclaimed that this area deserves further research to enrich this important area, which is relatively barren and under researched. The present piece of research is an effort in that direction.

NGOs have indeed emerged as a social force. The NGO sector is perceived as a force towards democratic and pluralist civil society. This sector is also considered a force that can ensure poverty alleviation and sustainable development. Of late, these organizations have increasingly become associated with grassroots development, focusing with alternative development and empowerment. Hence, grassroots organizations have attracted much attention of social scientists and donor agencies and they are the basic thought behind action research and empowerment (Holmen and Jirostram, 1994)

In the last couple of decades many micro people's movements also known as new social movements have taken place in various parts of the world. These movements have attempted to reshape thoughts and actions on various contemporary issues such as environment, human rights, women, peace and population. The emergence of new social movements, a paradigm shift in social transformation can be understood from the vantage point of the increasing involvement of people and an active civil society. Instead of working class it is the middle class who have come to the center stage to highlight the above-mentioned contemporary issues. These movements are driven more by ideas, a

vision of a better world than budgets or organizational structures (Korten, 1990: 124). Further, the rise of global civil society that gives birth to NGO movements can be source for the rejuvenation and restructuring of national and international institutions, and for the creation of new institutional structures. The NGOs have played an active role in these issued based micro movements. Many grassroots organization participating in these movements believe that the vulnerable sections need to be stimulated for raising their voices that can have a discernible impact on the local situation. And the combined efforts of grassroots organizations along with the local masses can coalesce into movements that have the potentiality to influence policies and politics at the national level (Edwards and Hulme, 1992:24). The proliferation of grassroots NGOs and their increasing involvement in people's movements induce a beneficial impact on developmental policies and wider political processes. For Korten (1990:127) the future lies in self-managing networks of NGOs and their participation in the movements thereby projecting themselves as part of social and political activism.

In order to strengthen these movements, voluntary organizations adopt programmes at the individual level, and extending it to societal level through joint action and networking. In the process these develop self-confidence by overcoming a sense of fear that joint action or coordination will result in loss of their identity and subject them to dominance of others (Mukherjee, 1994: 410).

In environmental movements too diverse NGOs, along with groups and individuals who generally share a set of beliefs mobilize the resources and contribute substantially towards the outbreak of movements. They are the right agencies that convert collective action into people's movements (Potter, 1996:28).

It is not often recognized that some of the most important ideas in different development fields in post independent India have emerged from the voluntary agencies. The environmental movements in India such as Chipko movement, the silent valley agitation in Kerla have been spearheaded by the NGO activists. Thus voluntary sector can be seen as an effective alternative force that helps organizing the people and extending

supports to people's movements. Hence, studying NGOs from the new social movement perspective acquires relevance.

What do NGOs do? What strategies do they employ? What set them apart from other two sectors i.e., state and market? How can they be effective? These are certain issues discussed by the scholars. However, studies on NGOs Effectiveness and particularly studying NGO Effectiveness from social movement perspective is yet unknown. Effectiveness as a value-loaded concept invites lot of criticisms and debates. The questions relating to the pervasiveness of the concept is however, need to be addressed by the researchers comprehensively. As effectiveness can be defined and analyzed from various angles sociologically, it requires a specific perspective and model from which its understanding can be attempted.

Hence, the concept of NGO effectiveness has been defined and operationalised in the New Social Movement framework/perspective Accordingly, NGO effectiveness is measured in within the framework of 'mobilization to institutionalization in terms of six indicators: 1. Awareness building among masses 2. Mobilization of masses 3. Mustering support from political parties and other voluntary organizations 4. Influencing government policies and programs 5. Benefiting the purpose through their projects and schemes 6. Empowering the people through participation and creating grassroots level popular institutions.

The independent variables whose association with the NGO effectiveness (dependent variable) is established have been derived from the existing literature. The independent variables are: accountability, sustainability, net-working, approaches practiced by NGOs, prevalent work culture, motivation level among the NGO employees, sense of purpose among the NGO employees.

1.14 Objectives

The objectives of the study are to:

1. To define, operationalize and measure effectiveness of NGOs from New Social Movement Perspective;
2. To analyze NGO effectiveness in terms of its social correlates both qualitatively and quantitatively.

1.15 Organization of the Study

The thesis is organized into six chapters. The introductory chapter brings out various issues pertaining to NGO sector along with rationale of the study. Apart from discussing theories, which have guided in formulating present research problem, it points out conceptual ambiguity, prevailed in NGO sector.

Chapter II reviews the methodology applied on NGO studies in general. It deals with variables, hypotheses, sampling procedure, and instrument and measurement of data. Data collected for the study are both qualitative and quantitative in nature. The tools used for data collection are schedule, interview, and participant observation. Apart from undertaking a survey of 40 NGOs, two case studies have also been conducted to meet the objectives of the study.

Chapter III discusses the issue of NGO effectiveness, its attributes, variables and indicators and their operationalization. Besides presenting a review, it also spells out the rationale for its conceptualization argues why the effectiveness has been attempted from a movement perspective. The chapter presents the empirical findings on NGO effectiveness.

Chapter IV tests a set of hypotheses. With the help of cross tabulation and statistical technique such as chi square it interprets the findings.

Chapter V discusses the strategies and functions of two NGOs selected as case studies to examine certain qualitative aspects/attributes of the study. It discusses in details the context in which these two NGOs have emerged and how they have been engaging them in mobilizing the people and winning the trust and confidence of the people in the region. It discusses various issues such as leadership, corruption, etc. and their perception on these issues. It was found that social factors i.e., caste, etc. does not play a crucial role in the effective functioning of NGOs.

Chapter VI provides a summary of the study and spells out the importance and implication of the study. It also points out the limitations of the study.

Chapter II

Methodology

This chapter reviews the methodology applied to NGO studies in general. It also portrays the methodology used for the present study. It discusses the variables (along with their allied indicators), hypotheses, sampling procedure, and tools of the data collection, the weighing procedure and the analysis and interpretation of the data. It also briefly outlines the profile of the samples.

2.1 Methodology Applied in Third Sector Research

Putting emphasis on triangulation method, the literature on third sector research points out the need for adopting a diverse set of methods. Application of multiple and diverse methods help better answering the research questions. The similar methodology (mixture of survey and case study) has been employed by Hyman and Dearden (1998). Schemale (1993) deployed multiple tools such as participatory observation, structured interviews with NGO staff, etc. to understand the role of local organizations in Zimbabwe and Ethiopia. Lawani (1999) undertook an exploratory cum descriptive study on developmental NGOs. To highlight various issues on the structural and procedural aspects of NGOs, he had carried out in-depth interviews with chief functionary of NGOs. Robinson (1995) made case study analysis of four NGOs from four developing countries to examine their contribution towards poverty eradication programmes. Farrington and Lewis (1993) used stratified random sampling technique to understand government and NGO relations. Garain (1998) undertook multi-variate analysis and applied statistical techniques such as chi-square and correlation to examine the factors contributing towards the effectiveness of NGOs. Paul (1991) developed modules based on the 'context and the strategy' for the effective functioning of NGOs. Vishwanath (1993) in a study of NGOs in Karnataka collected the data through participant observation and unstructured interviews with local women, NGO staff, and politicians to understand the NGO's role in

rural development. Sreen (1995), in her study of member accountability in NGOs used interview schedule to collect data. She developed score indices to measure the member accountability.

Primarily, three methodological approaches have guided the study designs of NGO research such as survey, case analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994, Yin 1994) and action research (Schein, 1988). Case studies are appropriate for understanding how processes such as inter organizational relationships evolved overtime within their specific contexts (Yin, 1994). Highlighting on cross case analysis Miles & Haberman, (1994), and Yin (1994) argue that it offers the advantage of preserving details of the cases as well as helps in identifying analytic themes from which a theoretical framework can be built. Action research suggests that research needs to be relevant for practical purposes. And to ensure this, practitioners must be involved and engaged in the research process by obtaining suggestions, generating research questions, interpreting data and developing action plans for future development and change (Schein, 1988). Narayana (1992) applied survey method in his study. In his study he has attempted to study bureaucratization of NGOs as independent variable. He has applied statistics such as regression and t-test.

2.2 Nature of the Present Study

The present research is a perspective driven, analytical study that tries to establish a cause and effect relationship between the dependent and some independent variables. A triangulation method was followed to collect the data for the present study. Triangulation method can be defined as a combination of different methodologies in the study of a particular phenomenon or problem. Since it aims at multiple operationalization of the problem, it is advantageous than other methodologies. Some of the advantages of this methodology are:

1. Helps to generate data with cross validity and reliability;
2. The weakness of one method gets compensated by another, as it deals with multiple methods;

3. It integrates survey and case study. In this study, while quantitative data have been collected through a structured schedule, qualitative data have been collected through in- depth interviews with the help of a checklist. The data were gleaned both from primary and secondary sources. While primary data were obtained from field study the secondary. While primary data were obtained from field study the secondary sources of the data were collected from the annual reports of NGOs, minutes of their meetings, data archives, etc.

In the light of the objective of the study, empirical data on effectiveness of grassroots NGOs have been obtained. The data pertaining to the strategies and functioning of NGOs in attaining their objectives have been collected. Owing to the heterogeneity nature and types of NGOs, the study is confined to the grassroots NGOs. That apart, the growing importance of grassroots NGOs and their active involvement in socio-economic activities at local level, the present study considers grassroots environmental NGOs of Orissa as its universe.

It is believed that NGOs belong to a category of organizations where a straightforward or uncontested measure of organizational effectiveness is yet to be developed. In other words, unlike governments and businesses organizations (which can be assessed, respectively, in terms of governance and financial returns) nonprofit organization have not readily acknowledged 'bottom line' criterion for assessment (Edwards and Hulme, 1996: 174).

The present study is quasi-quantitative in nature. The study has two aspects i.e., quantitative and qualitative. While quantitative aspects and, the data on quantitative variables were obtained from 40 grassroots NGOs through a semi structured interview schedule, qualitative data were gathered from two NGOs selected as case studies. This was necessary, as data concerning certain qualitative variables could not be collected through interview schedule. The two NGOs were selected on the basis of receiving the feedback from many sample NGOs during the first phase of data collection. The two NGOs selected for case study are Gram Vikas and Sambandh. They have been successful

in their approach and activities in Orissa. In-depth interviews were conducted with the help of a checklist to collect the qualitative data.

2.3 Conceptualizing Grassroots Environmental NGOs

It is noteworthy that at grassroots level it is rather difficult to identify NGOs as 'Environmental NGOs' because these do not fight environmental causes/issues exclusively. Survival is the main concern for them. Therefore, whatever opportunities in terms of projects cutting across issues come on their way they accept. Nevertheless, the projects of their choice always pertain to those concerning environmental issues. Therefore, the conceptualization of grassroots environmental NGOs is subjected to its limitations. In this study, grassroots environmental NGO has been defined in terms of following attributes that:

1. It is registered with the (PDC) People's Development Communication (net - working organization), Bhubaneswar, Orissa;
2. It is registered under 1860 Society registration Act;
3. It is non profit making organization
4. Its primary concern is to work for environmental issues
5. It is a non-governmental organization in the sense that it does not directly collaborate or work under the government supervision and financial control

2.4 Variables of the Study

The term 'NGO Effectiveness', which forms the dependent variable of the study, has been operationally defined in terms of an array of indicators derived from and sequentially ordered according to social movement perspective and collective action paradigm. Certain specific indicators and their corresponding question items have been specially developed to measure this variable. While attributes of effectiveness have been derived from social movement perspective (stages involving the whole process) the

independent variables have been derived from the existing literature pertaining to NGOs' structure and functioning. Thus, the study makes an attempt to draw arguments both from structural and functional aspects of the NGOs. The study aims at examining several hypotheses pertaining to the relationship between effectiveness of NGOs (dependent variable) with various independent variables like accountability, sustainability, networking and approach of functioning, etc. Several cross tabulation of dependent and independent variables have been attempted in order to examine the association between the two.

Table No. 2.1: Operationalization of variables

Name of the Variable	Indicators of the variable	Mode of Data Collection
Effectiveness (dependent)	Awareness building among the masses, Mobilization of the masses, Mustering support from political parties and other voluntary organizations, Influencing government policies and programs by carrying out advocacy works, Benefiting the people and meeting the objectives through their projects and schemes, and Empowering the people through participation and creating grassroots level popular institutions. (Ordered according to the theory of new social movement)	Questionnaire, Personal Interview, Group Interview,
Accountability (independent)	To Donors, To Employees	
Sustainability (independent)	Organizational sustainability, Financial sustainability	
Approaches (independent)	Bottom-Up (people's participation in the projects, awareness building and mobilization of the people, etc.) / Top-Down	
Work culture (independent)	Employee absenteeism, Autonomy enjoyed by the staff, Superior-subordinate relations	
Motivation (independent)	Job commitment, Job involvement	
Sense of Purpose (Independent)	Sensitivity of staff to Environmental issues, Environmental awareness of the staff, Perception of NGO staff on environmental issues	
Reward system (independent)	Financial rewards (fellowships, incentives), Recognition (prizes, nominations for representations), etc.	

2.5 Hypotheses

Based on the existing literature, identified variables and the objectives of the study a set of hypotheses have been formulated. These are

H.1. Higher is the level of popular participation through the bottom-up approach in grassroots environmental NGOs, higher is considered their level of effectiveness;

H.2. Better is the reward system in the grassroots environmental NGOs higher is their level of effectiveness;

H.3. Higher is the level of motivation among the staff of grassroots environmental NGOs, higher is their level of effectiveness.

H.4. Better is the prevalent work culture among the NGO employees higher is level of effectiveness;

H.5. Higher is the sense of purpose among the employees of NGO higher is their level of effectiveness.

H. 6. Higher is the level of sustainability of NGOs' programmes and participation higher is their effectiveness;

H.7. Higher is the level of NGO accountability higher is their effectiveness.

2.6 Research Assumptions

Based on the feedback from the literature following research assumptions have been made:

1. The environmental NGOs are innovative and result oriented;
2. They are diversified in terms of their approaches, strategies, etc.;
3. They consider community participation as the best possible way to combat environmental degradation and create public awareness;
4. They observe the problem from a holistic perspective, meaning look at things coherently;
5. They work out alternative strategies to meet the existing challenges;
6. They promote social environmental learning;
7. They are agents of collective action and mobilization.

2.7 Sampling Procedure

The criteria in selecting the samples were as follows:

1. That a sample NGO must be officially registered, and be clearly identifiable with a group of citizens;
2. That does not act as an official government body; does not pursue objectives of government or corporate actors;
3. That works as a non-profit (not-for-profit) organization; pursues environmental work as one of its major statutory activities; primary mission of which is to protect the environment, prevent environmental degradation and to promote sustainable forms of development.

While including in the sample, two other considerations were kept in mind in selecting the NGOs, first the size and age of the organization and second, the nature of the organization in terms of their geographical operation. This was necessary in order to minimize the amount of variability amongst organizations and thereby to minimize the variability in the data set. Other obvious factors considered in selecting samples were feasibility of access to the activities of NGOs i.e., its meetings, staff, leader, etc., and familiarity with the local language. Besides these, the usual problems like span of time and resource constraints also contributed to the selection of the research site and the sample size.

The study is limited to 40 grassroots NGOs in coastal Orissa, an eastern state of India. The universe for this study is comprised of grassroots NGOs registered in Directory of Voluntary Organizations organized by PDC of Indian state of Orissa located in Bhubaneswar, the state's capital. Out of a comprehensive list of 800 NGOs, a sample of 60 NGOs was randomly selected to meet the required sample size (50) of the study. This was done to overcome the possible fear of the under response. Subsequently the samples NGOs were contacted prior to commencement of the fieldwork. After obtaining their consent, researcher made a pre-fieldwork visit to the research sites to figure out the feasibility of the study and to make a pilot study. The feedback received from the NGO

personnel during the initial visit (pilot study) were subsequently became part of the interview schedule. Due to further time and resource constraints we limited our study to a sample size of 50 NGOs, which however, is a reasonable number for an exploratory quantitative study. After initial responses, as the study proceeded some NGOs declined to cooperate in providing detailed information under various pretexts such as lack of time, absence of appropriate personnel, etc. Hence, 10 NGOs were to be abandoned and excluded from the sample leaving it to be 40. As the unit of the study was the organization, data on organizations were obtained both from chief functionaries of NGOs and staff members of NGOs for the present study.

2.8 Methods and Procedures of Data Collection

A detailed study plan was made before undertaking the fieldwork and, accordingly the researcher paid a number of visits to the organizations. The fieldwork began with the help of some key respondents. To win over their trust and confidence, the researcher explained the purpose and interest of the research at length. From each organization permission was obtained from the chief functionary of the organization to conduct the study. Rapport was established with these respondents after a series of informal interactions and discussions.

The data were collected in two phases. In first phase (two months) data were collected from 40 NGOs and in the second phase (one month) two in-depth case studies were conducted mostly to collect qualitative data. A semi-structured questionnaire was used for the 1st phase of data collection. The schedule contained both structured and semi-structured questions. With a view to acquire some detailed information certain unstructured questions were also administered. The 2nd phase of data collection was in the form of case study. In-depth interviews were conducted with NGO functionaries with the help of a checklist.

2.9 Weighing Procedure

Based on the research problem and the variables identified, a response sheet was prepared. In this tool each variable was operationalized on the basis of a set of indicators. Data on each indicator were collected through a set of questions. Each question had several options. Each option was assigned a weightage/value on the basis of intensity and importance of the response. The intensity of the response was considered on the basis of social movement theory, which is the theoretical basis of the thesis. A cumulative score index was obtained for each indicator by adding up its scores on question items. Thus, a cumulative score was calculated for each indicator. Subsequently, a summated score value of all indicators of a variable was obtained. If the intensity of the options were in increasing order the weightage assigned were in an ascending order. And if the intensity of the options were in decreasing order the weightage assigned was in descending order. For assigning weightage in arithmetic value a three-point scale has been followed (where the highest score was three lowest score was one). All the scores of the variables were summated to get a cumulative score for each sample NGO. After obtaining a cumulative score of sample NGOs these were broken into three components high, moderate and low. Similar exercise was done both for dependent and independent variables of the study. Hence, uniformity was maintained in the measurement of data. However, in view of statistical guidelines to apply chi square technique for measuring the association between dependent and independent variables, at times a variable was bifurcated into two categories, e.g. highly effective and less effective. This was necessary, as expected frequencies of certain cell were found to be below five. Therefore it was decided to merge the cells and make it a two-way table instead of three to facilitate the application of chi square test.

2.10 Data Analysis and Interpretation

After the data collection, there was no need of coding the data, because the data were limited to 40 cases only and all were not in structured format to be fed into the computer. At the end of the data collection, the responses were systematized and weighted to be subsequently analyzed and interpreted with the support from the literature. The hypotheses were verified with the help of simpler probabilistic statistical application such as cross tabulation and chi square. The significance of the statistical results was discussed with the help of available literature.

2.11 Profile of Samples

As has been stated already, the present study is concerned with grassroots environmental NGOs. In our conceptualization we have stated it clearly that environmental NGOs do not necessarily deal exclusively with environmental issues. But certainly environmental issues remain their prime area of operation. Below a sample break up has been given to know the number of NGOs belong to the category that exclusively work on environmental issues.

Table No. 2.2: Profile of sample NGOs

Category No.	Profile of sample NGOs in terms of issues	No. of sample NGOs
1	Only Environment	12
2	Environment along with other one issue	28

The Table 2.2 exhibits that 12 NGOs of the sample belong to the category 1. These NGOs deal with various environmental issues such as forestry, water pollution, environmental awareness, etc. In the second category, the remaining 28 NGOs of the sample though primarily are concerned with environment/ecology are also involved in other social issues. They deal with poverty alleviation programmes, illiteracy, etc. Despite believing and prioritizing environment as their issue of orientation they are also concerned with other developmental issues. However, the names of these organizations

could not be displayed in order to maintain anonymity of the NGOs identity and professional ethics of research.

Table No. 2.3: Profile of NGOs in terms of staff strength

Category No.	Profile of NGOs in terms of manpower	No. of NGOs
1	Less than 10	11
2	11 to 20	19
3	20 to 30	10

The Table 2.3 displays the break up of NGOs in terms of strength of employees of NGOs. According to the table 11 NGOs have the employee strength of less than 10. About 11 NGOs are having the employee strength of between 11 and 20. In case of the remaining 10 NGOs their strength is more than 20.

Table No 2.4: Profile of the sample in terms of annual budget

Category No.	Financial status of NGOs	NO. of NGOs
1	5– 10 lakhs	12
2	11-16 lakhs	19
3	16- 20 lakhs	9

Since sample NGOs are small and located at grassroots level, most of their annual budgets vary from 5 lakhs to 20 lakhs. Table 2.4 shows the break up of sample NGOs in to 3 categories. Those whose annual budget remains between the range of 5 to 10 lakhs are placed in one category whereas those having the annual budget of 11-15 lakhs are clubbed into another category. And those having annual budget that ranges from 16 to 20 lakhs are kept in a different category.

Table 2.5: Coverage of NGOs (No. of Districts)

Category No.	Spread of NGO to No. of Districts	No. of NGOs
1	1-2 Districts	20
2	3-4 Districts	14
3	5-6 Districts	6

As shown in the Table 2.4, it is found that 50% of the sample NGOs (20) is confined to one or two districts as far as their coverage is concerned. About 14 NGOs are spread over to 3-4 districts whereas about only 6 NGOs have coverage of 5-6 districts.

Chapter III

Aspects of NGO Effectiveness

This chapter discusses comprehensively the dependent variable 'NGO effectiveness', its several indicators and their effective operationalization. It also discusses the NGO effectiveness in light of the existing literature. After presenting a review of literature, the several indicators of the variable 'NGO effectiveness' have been discussed. The conceptualization of 'NGO effectiveness' has been accomplished theoretically in terms of the new social movement perspective. The arguments and insights have been drawn both from the available empirical as well as theoretical literature pertaining to NGOs. The variable 'NGO effectiveness' has been defined in terms of the new social movement perspective. The chapter also seeks to discuss the operational aspects of the dependent variable by defining its sub-indicators.

3.1 Rationale for Studying NGO Effectiveness

The phenomenal rise of NGOs in recent decades has resulted in the enhanced demands for their accountability. Issues relating to their competitiveness and survival have gained currency. Contemporary concerns about non-profit organizations have been accountability, performance evaluation outcome assessment, to put it in nutshell, to understand the NGO effectiveness (Herman and Renz, 2002). Effectiveness has become a novel, topical and increasingly potent concept for non-profit organizations. The achievement of higher effectiveness is related (if not caused) by various management/organizational practices used by NGOs. Since the NGOs have been getting institutionalized, performance evaluation of these organizations has been gaining importance (Garain, 1998: 49-50).

Effectiveness being a value loaded, volatile concept should be understood from a certain theoretical perspective and by certain specific, well-defined indicators. The issue is so pervasive that researchers and theorists can neither ignore effectiveness nor assume

that there is a simple, universal effectiveness paradigm that can be applied to all non-profit organizations (Herman & Renz, 1997: 186). Quinn and Rohnbough, (1981), identify three dimensions or set of values that contribute towards organizational effectiveness. While first dimension deals with 'flexible structure' of the organization, the second dimension talks about 'focus' that emphasizes the well-being and development of people as well as development of organizations. Third dimension is about the means (process) applied to achieve the ends (objectives) (cited in Herman and Renz, 2002). Apparently, very few empirical works have been done to identify possible dimensions of nonprofit organization effectiveness (Ibid.). Although attempts to study NGO effectiveness have been the central feature of third sector research, the subject still remains sparsely documented and partially understood. However, the third sector research, especially the impact of NGOs' role and function is gaining attention from academia, developmentalists and votaries of civil society cutting across disciplines.

The last decade has witnessed a significant increase in efforts to assess the performance of non-governmental, non-profit development organizations. A trend is also emerging in the modes of studying effectiveness, as there is a shift in conventional method of measuring the performance of non-profit development organizations. Conventionally the performance of NGOs was judged on the basis of the success of the projects undertaken by NGOs. However, the key to NGO assessment appears to lie in identifying and using performance standards, the criteria that people would like to use while making judgments (Fowler, 1996: 169-178).

A review of literature in Indian context also shows that the studies that have been carried out to understand the dynamics and performance of NGOs is meager. Most of the research and documentation work in the areas of NGOs has focused on analyzing the facts of the nature and position of programs, personnel, finance, etc. Although a few of the success stories of NGOs are found to be documented as case studies, very few research has been done either in form of developing methodological framework or by way of an empirical study in the area of evaluating performance of NGOs (Garain, 1998: 50).

Since the term effectiveness remains an open concept, it is important to know the means applied to study effectiveness for a particular study. Though scholars have attempted to study organizational effectiveness, such attempts have been confined to the behavioral and organizational perspective (Wilson & Bailey, 1990: 175).

Sociological studies on effectiveness, that too on NGO effectiveness remain a less explored area. This is quite understandable as NGOs as a field of inquiry came to the limelight and got the wide recognition only recently. Moreover, sociologists have started studying NGOs only in recent years. Besides, earlier studies on voluntary organizations were mostly confined to case study based efforts and were mainly exploratory in nature. Such studies were basically concerned with NGO activities and their structural aspects.

In this connection, pertinent are why study effectiveness and why from the vantage point of a particular perspective. It can be reiterated that though no universal model is available to study NGO effectiveness, its importance and relevance cannot be ignored given the growing importance of this sector. Their strengths, their sizes and their roles in developed and developing countries are qualitatively different. Therefore, it is necessary to understand NGO effectiveness from different perspectives and with the help of specified indicators.

The study of effectiveness can be categorized broadly into two categories, namely, procedural and structural. The procedural effectiveness can be defined in terms of the strategies, approaches that an NGO has to apply to achieve its objective. Structural aspects explain how the organizational aspects and internal mechanisms contribute towards achieving its goals. Some argue that structure-process combination is an ideal method to examine effectiveness (Mackenzie, 1996) It would be worth mentioning here that the variable 'effectiveness' has been perceived from procedural (social movement perspective) rather than structural aspects (organizational perspective) of the organization. A set of causal/associational relationships between dependent and independent variables are tested in the form of hypotheses.

A moot question that instantly comes to mind is that, are voluntary agencies different from other formal organizations? And whether the effectiveness of NGOs is different from the effectiveness of other organizations. The literature suggests that these are different from other organizations in very many ways. Their flexibility, approach/strategy they undertake to attain the goal make them distinct. The NGOs claim to achieve the objectives in a more effective and methodical way than those in the private and public sectors as they employ different patterns of motivational and managerial control. However, testing of this claim requires a sound methodological exercise. The criteria by which their performances are to be judged need to be clearly spelt out. Brett, (1993: 273) argues that the absence of any specific, concrete theory makes the task more difficult. Hence, ideas and arguments ought to be borrowed from various theories, models and formulations.

Let's discuss how NGO effectiveness has been portrayed in the literature. Using an index of performance, which combines the data on economic gains, social benefits, equity, participation and other impacts, Esman and Uphoff, (1984: 72-98) identify a number of characteristics from the findings of 150 cases, which correlate with positive outcomes. According to them the success of an NGO depends on how well they carry out certain key function of NGO management, how they sort out conflicts within the organization, how effectively resources have been mobilized, and of course, how routine resource management tasks such as loan collection, infrastructure maintenance are executed. Effectiveness includes two dimensions on which some consensus in the literature exists, namely goal achievement and partner satisfaction. NGOs can be considered effective when their formally stated goals are achieved and the partners/stakeholders expressed satisfaction with the achievements (Ashman, 2001:78).

It seems that the goal and system resource models are the dominant approaches to study effectiveness of the organizations. However, due to the criticisms in terms of conceptual and measurement related issues of both the goals and system resource models (Steers, 1975, Cambell, 1977; cited in Wilson & Bailey, 1990: 179), there emerges alternative definitions of effectiveness based on the internal processes, multiple

constituencies and multivariate perspectives and situations. The inadequacy of a single variable model for effectiveness led to the emergence of multi variable model, which is quite apparent in NGO literature. It defines effectiveness in terms of a set of relevant criteria including structures, behaviors and attitudes associated with organization and its systems (Ibid. 180-181). In other words, it calls for a multivariate, multidimensional and holistic approach. It is believed that the more relevant models are those that attempt to develop integrative mechanisms by positing how selected dependent variables affect or (affected by) other independent variables found in the structure and behavior of organizations (Blake and Mouton, 1964, Katz, Kahn and Adam, 1980, Schein, 1970, Webb, 1974, cited in Wilson & Bailey 1990: 181). Steers, (1977), Campbell, (1977), and Cameron and Whetten, (1983) have assembled lengthy lists of criteria that have been used by one or more analysts in measuring effectiveness (cited in Scott, 1998: 344). In this connection, it would be worth mentioning some models applied in measuring effectiveness in organizational research. The frequently used models are natural system model, open system model and rational system model.

According to the natural system model, an organization can be viewed as a composition of collectivities that are not only capable of achieving specified goals but also maintain a cohesive force within the organization acting as a social unit. The open system model emphasizes on the environment that influences an organization. This perspective also lays stress on system maintenance within an organization. It also talks about an organization's ability to exploit its environment to generate resources. Issues like adaptability, flexibility can be considered as criteria of effectiveness under this model (Scott, 1998: 344). Rational model puts emphasis on attainment of goals. On the basis of the specific goal of the organization, it generates effectiveness criteria. A series of actions is performed to achieve the predetermined goals with maximum efficiency. This model also emphasizes on formal structure of the organization.

The criteria to study organizations depend on our own interests and the issue we seek to understand. We need to clearly state the criteria that we propose to employ. Criteria for effectiveness should be selected on the basis of identification of properties or dimensions and the types of indicators to be employed and the nature of the sample to be

drawn. The sampled values must be compared with the selected standards (Dornbusch and Scott, 1975, cited in Ibid. 353-354). Three general types of indicators have been identified to study effectiveness, namely, those based on outcomes, on processes, and on structures (Donabedian, 1966; Suchman, 1967; Scott, 1977). Process measures emphasize on the quantity or quality of activities carried out by the organization. These measures assess the efforts rather than effect. In some respect, process measures are more valid measures of the characteristics of organization's performance. Instead of drawing performance characteristics from outcomes, process measures directly assess performance values. Process measures are based on the assumption that activities/strategies are known that are required to ensure effectiveness (Ibid. 357).

In an effort to build an instrument to measure NGO effectiveness, Garain, (1998) has developed POE method to study NGO effectiveness. POE as an instrument is short in size, having validity in terms of acceptability to the target population, e.g., the human service professionals; at least the items should somehow or the other relate to functionaries in NGOs; and the instrument has adequate psychometric properties. The factors such as programme effectiveness, innovativeness, grassroots impact, target group involvement, project orientation, organizational flexibility have been included to study the effectiveness of NGOs (Garain, 1998: 49-80).

Conventionally, project evaluation techniques, which were centered on the procedures of cost-benefit analysis, were considered to study effectiveness. Gradually, it is felt that a mere measurement of economic gain is insufficient and hence, there is a need to develop new and appropriate evaluation techniques. Korten, (1990) observes that effectiveness of NGOs can be determined when they 'coalesce and energize self-managing networks and involve themselves in the broader movement of which they are part of social and political activists'. Outcome indicators also known as 'quintessential' indicators of effectiveness focus on specific characteristics of materials or objects on which the organization has performed some operation (Nogueira, 1987 cited in Garain, 1998: 103) has linked the assessment, impact or results of an NGO or a project with the NGO's life cycle stage. Organization's strategy, technical capacity and social attributes, derived from a particular stage of growth of an NGO, have a strong impact and hence,

need to be given consideration in evaluating effectiveness of the NGO. While internal assessment examines the results and impacts, external assessment concentrates on NGO's capacity in processing and making appropriate use of experiences on their own and in alliance with other organizations.

Clark, (1991:84) has asserted that scaling-up of NGOs can be done on the basis of 'project replication, building grassroots movement, and influencing policy reforms'. While project replication deals with the experience of successes and failures both to increase the outreach of the NGO's own programme and to help others establish similar programmes. Building grassroots movements highlights the increasing support for grassroots organizations who campaign for social change. Using the local knowledge and local contacts to help faster widespread networks articulating popular concerns and striving for changes in the oppressive system. Influencing policy reforms to influencing change in the local policies and practices of governments and aid agencies, so as to create an environment favorable to the vulnerable section and to grassroots development.

Potter, (1996:26-49) lists out six criteria for assessing the effectiveness of NGO action. Firstly, political expertise coupled with a definite strategy and purpose place NGOs on strong position to deliver the goods. Skill, acumen and political intelligence help them to pick up right target groups and organizations. Identifying the most vulnerable target group is the key. Secondly, relevant professional, technical and scientific expertise enable NGOs to put forward rational and technical arguments on the negotiating table that results in policy formulation which is considered to be crucial for NGO effectiveness. A strong and professional staff is an added advantage for any organization. Thirdly, media plays a very significant role in publicizing or popularizing an organization's mission. Especially, its roles at crucial junctures in a campaign can be very important. For instance, the coverage of environmental issues by print as well as electronic media can generate a public awareness. Besides, increasing media support can bring about qualitative changes in policies of government or business organizations. Fourthly, NGOs can enhance and command more influence in their advocacy work when they manage to forge a political linkage to bargain. NGOs can manage to garner political

support from various large organizations i.e., trade union, human rights organizations, etc. Despite having no direct affiliation with political parties, they try to win the confidence of political parties. Fifthly, networking is one of the significant features of NGOs that ensures wider recognition for them. They establish networks at different levels such as regional, national and international. Southern NGOs form coalitions and build networks and alliances with Northern NGOs and vice versa. Similarly, grassroots NGOs can increase their influence locally by maintaining a constant relationship with national and international NGOs. Sixthly, complimentary nature of NGOs is another significant contributing factor that brings NGOs under one umbrella. One NGO may lack the technical expertise but may have good relations with the media. Similarly, some NGOs may be richer in terms of resources but may be lacking in advocacy activities and so on. To make a campaign effective and result oriented they need to act together. For instance, Barito Pacific, a North-South network of environmental and human rights NGOs engaged in coordination of fund managers in London, New York and else where urging the Northern NGOs not to invest in an Indonesian wood products company called Barito Pacific.

Lack of co-ordination between NGOs due to divergent collectivities, inconsistent objectives and conflicts over fund raising can also affect the functioning of NGOs. Further, their inability to identify real problems behind a particular problem and lack of technical and professional staff are found responsible for the failure of an NGO. Notwithstanding the contextual importance of an NGO, one has to choose a particular strategy to study NGO effectiveness. Putting emphasis on a conceptual framework to study any aspect of an NGO, David & Hulme, (1992:15) suggest three strategies to understand NGO effectiveness. Firstly, a simple increase in the number of NGOs would produce more significant effects. In other words, phenomenal growth of NGOs in a particular area and their combined efforts would put pressure on concerned authorities. Secondly, efforts at various levels to muster political support, networking and policy reforms would make NGOs more effective than individual NGO activities. This can be treated as multiplicative strategy. Finally, information sharing among NGOs, adoption of each other's strategies can be called as diffusive strategy. This stage could be seen as an

informal and spontaneous stage. Besides, these three broad strategies, two other strategies such as explosive strategy and association strategy are also being deployed by NGOs. Explosive strategy refers to a large-scale strategy that is applied to large programmes and consequently considers the contextual constraints of a programme whereas associational strategy concentrates on each part of the programme and its coverage is smaller than explosive strategy. According to Robinson (1992: 28-39) the new forms of resources such as information and communication, leadership, mobilizing ability and access to local knowledge can be considered as effective criteria of an NGO.

Carroll, (1992) asserts that an informal organizational culture encourages open consultative process with beneficiaries. A code of ethics and collegial management style are more important than formal mechanisms. Other factors that improve NGO effectiveness include the linkages with other NGOs, public sector agencies, a focused scope in terms of projects and territory, steady financial backing, skilled and committed staff, etc.

Further, Fischer, (1996: 5-6) points out two approaches to study NGO effectiveness. The first approach concerns whether individual NGOs are effective at delivering the goods whereas second approach concentrates on the global effectiveness of NGOs. Initially, quantitative measures were used for the assessment of effectiveness, including per capita GNP, wage increases, primary school enrollment, and the (PQLI) physical quality life index that includes literacy, life expectancy, and infant mortality. Increasingly, more qualitative measures such as levels of participation, reaching of vulnerable section i.e., women, poor, etc., networking and policy impacts were considered.

There has been mixed response in literature regarding the effectiveness of NGOs. After reviewing success of individual NGO and GRO, Edward and Hulme, (1996:5) conclude that they 'do not perform as effectively as had been assumed in terms of poverty, cost effectiveness, sustainability, popular participation (including gender), flexibility and innovation'. Drawing observations from 70 case studies written by senior

staff members of larger NGOs involved in rural agricultural technology development state that 'innovations devised or promoted by NGOs have had wide economic impact' Farrington and Bebbington (1993). Carroll (1992) studied intermediary NGOs funded by Inter American Foundation, a US funding agency for grassroots development in Latin America. He made qualitative assessment of service delivery, participation and wider impact of the organizations. Each item was evaluated with the help of 20 indicators as developed by a team of three researchers. It was observed that intermediary NGOs successfully promoted collective action and created vertical and horizontal linkages between beneficiaries and other organizations including governments and corporate sector.

Brodhead and Herbert Copley (1988) observed that small-scale project implementation generally meet their objectives at low costs. The study further observes that though beneficiaries participated in project implementation, they did not always participate in project designing and monitoring. Beneficiary participation in development programmes is believed to be consistent requirement for success.

Riddel and Robinson et.al. (1995) in their study of 16 NGOs in Bangladesh, India, Uganda and Zimbabwe assess the project goals and changes in the lives of beneficiaries. The study observes that three fourths of projects have broadly achieved their objectives and had a positive impact in alleviating poverty They have developed an approach called ODI approach to examine the effectiveness of NGOs. The qualitative indicators and the impact of particular interventions within the broader external environment were key considerations in devising this approach (Ibid. 53). The approach concentrates on a series of inter related questions. They are:

1. Has the project undertaken been successful in achieving its objectives? What were the project objectives? What assumptions were made about the projects and the wider environment?
2. Has the overall economic status of the beneficiaries been enhanced due to the NGO intervention? What were the different factors that led to the successful

achievement of project objectives and which specific factors are judged to be more or less important?

3. Have the benefits of the project been distributed equitably among different groups of people i.e., richer and poorer, men and women, landless and landed, etc.?
4. If the change in economic status of beneficiaries could be attributed to project factors alone or to non-project factors?
5. Was the project executed efficiently?
6. Do the results of the project provide grounds for believing that such type of interventions can be replicated so that the benefits can be spread more widely?
7. Is the NGO still involved in the project after implementation? If the NGO is set for withdrawal is likely to lead to any particular problem? In general what are the prospects for project sustainability?

Pointing out the limitations of this approach the authors prescribe two most important needs. First, one should be comfortable with technical skills to carry out project activities and secondly, the investigator must possess specific knowledge of particular projects and communities. The local researchers should also be contacted and involved in various phases of data collection.

Scholars argue that the success of NGOs lies in their small-scale operation and community participation (Edward and Hulme, 1992: 13-27). Fisher, (1993) states that at least 100 million people have benefited from intermediary NGOs. Extrapolating from a Guatemalan study, Fisher estimates that about 375 million people have benefited worldwide from NGOs. The 1993 UNDP Development report estimates that NGOs have reached 250 million of 1.3 billion living in absolute poverty (cited in Fischer, 1998:8). Korten (1984) feels that simplistic bureaucratic procedures, a positive working environment and a sympathetic management staff and effective participation are the basic virtues behind the success of an NGO. He defines effective participation in terms of clients' participation in decision-making. The latter must be accountable to the clients for their actions. The level of effective participation can be measured by the extent to which

leaders are accountable to the clients. A people centered (participatory development approach) rather than people oriented is necessary for the effectiveness of an NGO. Pandey (1991: 54) pointed out the use of participatory techniques for the sake of managerial efficiency in development projects. The primary focus of these techniques is to smoothen and strengthen the process of implementation. Clark (1991) pointing out the lacunas in the existing evaluation pattern points out that fund accountability should not be the sole criterion to study effectiveness of northern NGOs. He suggests that the effectiveness of projects and the benefits received by the expected population should also be looked at.

Attwood (1989) in a study of the co-operatives in Maharashtra in order to assess the reasons for their effectiveness lists out reasons for their success. These are:

1. The leaders are elected in every five years;
2. People in this office maintain economic efficiency and accountability;
3. Internal competition enhances the efficiency;
4. Leadership

Other factors that contribute to improve NGO effectiveness include NGO networking, linkages with public sector agencies, a focused scope in terms of projects and territory, steady financial backing, etc.

Schmale (1993:1-29) asserts that there are a number of reasons for being skeptical about the success of NGOs. First, there are only a limited number of documented success stories of local organizations. Second, recently we have witnessed that a large amount of money has been diverted to NGO sector, but it is unclear whether NGOs do have the managerial capacity to handle such huge amounts. Third, as a part of obligation, most of the organizations may also begin to follow the wishes of donors rather than meeting the people's needs. Fourth, many grassroots NGOs were set up by outside interventions instead of voluntary efforts of the local people. And finally, many local organizations campaign for participatory development but continue to work in a top-down, non-

participatory fashion. The author feels that the funds coming from external sources affect the effectiveness of the NGO development activities. Further, he argues that effectiveness of an NGO depends on their ability to meet the objectives and goals of various constituent groups within the organization. This involves issues such as transparency of goals, information flow and sharing, participation by the respective groups in all phases of the activities and so on.

Mukherjee (1994: 412) says, effectiveness of an NGO depends on its ability to mould the growth and development of organization and restrict its sphere of activities to the spirit of voluntary action. They will have to perceive the changes to face the challenges, and to initiate action to change their structure and functioning considering the needs and requirements based on certain laid down principles.

Mishra (1990: 114-121) discusses effectiveness in terms of work culture in Indian organizations where Protestant ethic which engendered the spirit of capitalism in the west, seems to be missing. Indian work organization is strongly influenced by social values that push efficiency behind and puts social in the forefront. Mishra writes:

Visiting home of the superior, doing personal chores for his family and obliging him by several other latent or manifest modes are appreciated by the superior in many instances who are supposed to suitably reciprocate them by granting extra favor in terms of work allocation, overtime, promotion, etc.

This brings down the motivation and level of commitment among the employees. Dhawan (1995:8) says that effectiveness can be judged in terms of cost benefit, management, ideology, strategy, etc. Aldaba (1990: 76-79) observes that flexibility is the most positive characteristic and the biggest asset of an NGO. NGOs' ability to reach out remote areas coupled with the dedicated and committed staff make these organizations distinct. Most NGO workers are relatively young and very idealistic. All these features are translated into a lot of trust among workers and consequently brings in more output and more activities.

New Partnership Initiative (NPI) U.S Report (1999: 1-28) report says that NGO effectiveness and their success are context specific. The viability of the local NGOs can be observed through various indicators. Indicators are:

1. **The rate of growth in the membership:** this refers to the number of enrolment in an NGO. If people in general and members in particular show enthusiasm, it is in all likelihood that the concerned NGO will be effective.
2. **Diversity:** NGOs representing different groups in the society, functioning in different sectors i.e., environment, health, family planning, etc., establish themselves as a viable force in a quick succession. It is important to have service groups as well as production groups, women's association as well as men's organization. It is also important to have the right kind of balance and complementarity between local NGOs and national NGOs and even international NGOs. Diversity is key if NGOs have to play an effective and dynamic role as catalysts, innovators and advocates.
3. **NGO Networks and Association:** Linkages between NGOs at the local, national and international levels enhance the bargaining power of NGOs. A crucial dimension of NGO empowerment is the ability of NGOs to work together and share information to promote development. It can also be important to have horizontal linkages among grassroots organizations at the local and regional level. For example, federation of cooperatives, federation of local development associations, peasant unions, federation of credit associations, etc. Another set of linkages is among local NGOs and NGOs in other countries of the region. Increasingly, international NGOs are now creating valuable partnerships with local NGOs, and helping to vitalize the local NGO sector by exchanging information, experience and technical expertise. Issue oriented NGOs maintain constant relations with NGOs across the country.
4. **Ability to Influence Policies:** Political and economic leverage is one of the most powerful measures of NGO empowerment. National associations of NGOs in key sectors such as environment, family planning and agriculture

influence government policy in many developing countries. NGOs can influence policy in various ways such as by holding national meetings and conferences to debate and publicize key issues invoking media attention, participating on government commissions and advisory boards, charismatic personal influences of NGO personalities, etc. Besides, NGOs can also innovate new approaches and models for the government to adopt.

5. **Relationship with the Private Sector:** It is important to know whether NGOs establish sound and balanced relations with the private sector which stimulate co-operation and financial support. This can be observed by knowing linkages between private business organizations and public advocacy or direct economic production.
6. **Independence:** To become vibrant, it is essential for NGOs to maintain independence and not easily bow down to the wishes of the donors and respective governments. Financial independence can be measured by observing the percentage of their finance from local sources vis-à-vis government and other external sources. One could look at the numbers and types of issues that NGOs have raised for discussion with government or with corporate bodies.
7. **Degree of Participation and Responsiveness:** In order to be effective, it is important that NGOs should be participative and responsive to the needs of their employees. To measure this, one can look at the frequency of changes in leadership of NGOs, how membership rotates on the administrative council of the NGOs or how regularly meetings are held between members and employees.
8. **Sustainability:** Sustainability is another key dimension to measure the effectiveness of NGOs. Good planning, management, administrative acumen are vital to understand the sustainability of NGOs. Financial sustainability is very important for any NGO. An NGO can truly be sustained if it manages to continue its operation by generating funds from various sources even if it does not get any from donors.

9. **Institutional Capacity:** An NGO can make an effective contribution, if it creates an adequate institutional capacity, encompasses various aspects such as carrying out projects and delivering management services, proper planning, technical capability, etc. To become a successful, it must develop adequate managerial, financial management, monitoring and evaluation systems.
10. **Communications capacity and Access to Information:** Adequate access to communication technology can also be very important for the creation of an effective and dynamic NGO sector. Good communication capacity helps to stimulate intra-sector networks, horizontal and vertical linkages among NGOs. This facilitates the sharing of information and resources among NGOs. This capacity also contributes to the maintenance of good inter-sectoral relations with the public and private sectors and enhances NGO's broader educational function in civil society.
11. **Innovativeness:** This dimension may be somewhat difficult to define and measure, but it is an important aspect of a strong and vibrant NGO community. It is significant because NGOs are to adopt and design new approaches to solve tough local problems.
12. **Loyalty:** This is also considered as one of the important indicators to judge NGO effectiveness. This can be measured by observing the duration that members/staff associate themselves with an NGO.

Environmental NGOs are more likely to be influential where the targeted organizations (government and business sectors) whose environmental policies they try to change are accountable and liberal. In other words, NGOs will be effective in a liberal democratic regime. They are likely to be more influential where there is plurality of institutions, organizations and power centers within the state apparatus.

It is a common proposition that each organization aims to fulfill its set goals through suitable means. The 'goal model' paradigm confirms that the achievement of goal is the first priority of an organization irrespective of its nature, size and age. Therefore, it is expected that each organization sets its goals/purposes/objectives and deploy subsequent means to achieve these. In order to carry out an independent analysis of the

achievements of selected groups/organizations, a detailed conceptual framework is necessary.

As the present study is concerned with grassroots NGOs, one may raise questions like, if a grassroots environmental NGO that musters financial benefits is at ease more effective than the one that is not. If an NGO having a strong network and effective alliance is more effective than the one having a weaker network? etc. To address these questions, there is a need to prepare an index of effectiveness indicators. In this study, these indicators have been derived from the literature and are based on multivariate analytical frame. In addition, as NGO effectiveness is arguably a very complex and open concept, it demands a particular perspective, and of course, certain clearly identified and defined indicators to study and examine it. For the present study, seven key variables have been identified and operationalized accordingly. Thereafter, each variable has been operationalized in terms of a host of indicators. These indicators are discussed below.

3.2 Operationalization of Effectiveness for the Present Study

A modest attempt is made in this study to operationally define NGO effectiveness from social movement perspective and collective action paradigm. It is assumed that NGOs at grassroots level take up popular issues of different themes and help building awareness among the people, motivate them to participate in large numbers and eventually empower them in order to help shape their own future. They foster strong local leadership; encourage people to chart their own course of action, develop action research, forge alliance with local groups, build up strong communication skills, develop a political strategy, etc. (Clark, 1991: 102-119).

The effectiveness of the NGOs has been observed from the vantage point of their objectives/goals, etc. The goal of the grassroots NGOs is to empower the people and ensure their participation in various stages and activities of NGOs. Because, NGOs at grassroots level feel that people's participation in a decisive way is the only viable way to address the contemporary problems including environmental problems. In recent times, we have witnessed many micro as well as macro environmental movements in India

spearheaded by NGOs. Therefore, effectiveness of NGOs has been operationally defined with an array of indicators drawn from collective action paradigm and the assumptions of social movements perspective. Social movement necessitates awareness among the masses, their mobilization, leadership, and their active participation in a definite programme with a sense of purpose. To facilitate movements we need mobilization of resources and skills. And NGOs have been able to play to great extent facilitator's roles. On the other hand, a movement gives birth to institutions and pressure groups. Therefore, NGOs can be seen as one such pressure group that draws their legitimacy from the movement. NGOs follow some strategies to bring people closer and ultimately achieve their targets and objectives. These strategies have been considered as indicators for the effectiveness. The NGOs effectiveness can be determined by some independent variables too. The independent variables associated with the effectiveness have also been derived from the organizational aspects of NGOs.

The effectiveness has been defined in terms of an array of indicators such as awareness building among the masses, mobilization of the masses, mustering support from political parties and other voluntary organizations, influencing government policies and programs by carrying out advocacy works, benefiting the people and meeting the objectives through their projects and schemes and empowering the people through participation and creating grassroots level popular institutions.

3.3 Indicator I: Awareness Building among the Masses

The wider contention among grassroots environmental NGOs is that the people should be aware of the fact that the limited natural resources need to be used in a sustained not only for them but also for the future generations to come. It is the ignorance rather than lack of interest and enthusiasm, which is primarily responsible for the lukewarm response of the people to protect and preserve the natural resource bases as ecosystems. Therefore, people should be encouraged to participate in large numbers in participating the environmental programmes. NGOs at the grassroots level as part of their bottom-up approach (putting people first) try to convince the people by drawing their

attention to the scarcity of natural resources, health hazards and low hygienic condition, particularly issues important for their survival. NGOs take one of these issues as an entry point to win the trust of the people and establish rapport with them by continually mixing and exchanging dialogues with them.

They employ different strategies for creating awareness among the people after establishing a rapport (working relations) with the target population. They organize street plays, cultural shows, puppet shows, audio-video shows, debates on relevant themes in schools and colleges, training camps, workshops, obtain support from the media, building local popular institutions, organize rallies, protests, etc. Therefore, awareness building has been operationalized on the basis of sub indicators such as NGOs' efforts in organizing street plays, cultural shows, puppet shows, audio-video shows, training camps, workshops, etc. In this context, it is worthwhile to look at the strategies that NGOs employ at local levels to create public awareness.

Table No. 3.1: Measures employed by NGOs for Awareness building

Awareness building measures adopted by NGOs	No. of NGOs (n=40)	Percentage
Street Plays	27	67.5
Folk (<i>Pala</i> , <i>Daskathia</i> , etc) Popular Songs	19	47.5
Organizing Films/Videos	22	55
Puppet shows	13	32.5
Organizing Training Camps/ Workshops	26	65
Holding Public Meetings	31	77.5
Implanting Success Stories	29	72.5
Obtaining media support:		
1.Support From Print Media only	12	30
2.Support From Electronic Media only	8	20
3.Support from Both from Print and Electronic Media	6	15
Other Forms: Bicycle Rally, Children's rally, Post card /Poster/ Banner campaigning, etc.	18	45

3.3.1 Street Plays: NGOs perform street plays to diffuse / disseminate a message. They induct a popular theme and in the course of the play they leave out messages for the people. This method is found to be very popular and quite appealing among NGOs. The present study observes that about 67.5% of the NGOs have performed / carried out street plays on various themes like plantation, protesting against eucalyptus plantation, water pollution / safe drinking water, protection from sunstroke, rainwater harvesting, etc.

3.3.2 Folk/Popular Songs: To catch the immediate attention of the masses, NGOs make use of popular songs and folk songs. They spread the message by recording and widely playing it in public places. Our empirical evidence shows that about 47.5% of the NGOs have made use of this strategy to generate awareness among people.

3.3.3 Organizing Films/Videos: In rural areas, film and video shows have increasingly become popular. NGOs have organized documentary shows covering various issues to create an impact on the people's psyche. They also display and distribute posters, leaflets and photos with a message that make people think about the existing environmental problems. This is how NGOs slowly and steadily convince the people about the prevailing problems. The study observes that a majority of the NGOs (about 55%) are employing these means to raise awareness among the people. An example can be cited here. Sambadh, an NGO distributes posters to people showing that a tree pleads people to keep it green and beautiful and in return it will keep them happy and healthy. A few NGOs also perform 'one act play' to pass on the message to the people.

3.3.4 Puppet shows: This is also very popular in rural areas. It is found that 32.5% NGOs have organized puppet shows. These shows are made and the people are requested through puppets to contribute their labor and skill for community participation and the betterment of their areas.

3.3.5 Training Camps/Workshops: NGOs organize various training camps and workshops to educate and train the amorphous mass. In the training camps people are informed of various socio-economic and ecological problems and the possible ways and means to combat these problems. They are given reading materials, posters, etc. for wider

circulation. They train the people to utilize their spare time by participating in community activities and carry out activities such as planting trees, accompanying NGO personnel in door to door campaigning, etc. People in turn provide feedback and input on various issues.

The study observes that about 65% of the NGOs have organized various training camps. They have invited experts of various types i.e., academicians/intellectuals, journalists, activists to share their ideas, discuss the strategies and find out the remedies for the existing problems. Local people are also encouraged to participate in the training programmes. About 77.5% of the NGOs have spread their messages and mobilize people by holding public meetings.

3.3.6 Implanting Success Stories: NGOs through their wider network (forging alliance with other NGOs at national and international level) implant stories of their own as well as their fellow NGOs' successful achievements at different places through popular co-operation. This eventually enthruses people to come forward and participate in a big way in various community development activities of the NGOs. About 72.5% of the NGOs confess that they have been engaged in implanting success stories among the people. They also invite like-minded NGOs to pay visits, deliver talks, and share the experiences in the concerned area. For example, the concept of 'kitchen garden and herbal garden' (this issue has been discussed in details in chap5) has become very popular in certain pockets of Orissa and the rural mass in the region is curious to know the usefulness and importance of various plants they come across.

As an NGO puts it:

Our attempt is to develop indigenous practices to protect the ecological balance; this can be achieved by creating awareness among people. Our efforts are on to use their traditional knowledge bases to solve the local environmental problems such as water preservation, plantation, etc. The general masses need to be inspired and our job is to facilitate them to work in their own spheres to restore nature and natural products.

3.3.7 Obtaining Media Support

Media helps in raising public awareness on issues of NGOs concerns. It also popularizes the concerned NGOs. The success stories of NGOs appearing in newspapers both local and national and also in electronic media network bring recognition to concerned NGOs.

Our study however, observes that a majority of the NGOs have not been able to muster any media support. About only 15% of the sample NGOs have been successful in obtaining both print and electronic media coverage for their activities. And about 30% of the NGOs have been able muster support from only print media and their activities are reported in newspapers and also in some local magazines. This need not be a surprise to our readers, as Indian media remain preoccupied with politics.

3.3.8 Other Modes: In rural areas village festivals/melas play a crucial role in bringing people together. Many NGOs find such gatherings suitable platforms to give out their messages by participating in their celebrations. During festive occasions, local people organize various cultural and entertaining programmes. NGO personnel participate in their programmes, play an active role and leave a message for the people in course of the programme. Some NGOs (45%) find postcard campaign as an effective and cheap mode of creating awareness and consciousness among the masses.

Table No. 3.2: Cumulative Score Table on Awareness Building:

Cumulative status of NGOs on awareness building	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	7	17.5
Moderate	18	45
High	15	37.5
Total	40	100

To know the NGOs' performance in awareness building a cumulative score index was obtained. It is observed (Table 3.2) that most of the NGOs (18) are moderate in their

effort in building awareness among the masses on environmental issues. As many as 15 NGOs are found in high category whereas about 7 NGOs are figured in low category.

3.4 Indicator II: Mobilization of the Masses

Mobilization forms one of the indicators to measure the dependent variable NGO effectiveness. Mobilization of the masses according to the social movement theory is considered an important criterion of popular movements. It has been operationalized in terms of number of training camps organized for the local people, number of public meetings organized to encourage people to participate in large numbers and the people's involvement in various mobilization programmes such as demonstrations, protests, etc.

NGOs organize public meetings, training camps to plan out projects and future course of action. In a training camp, people are given exposure to the state of affairs around them, and this gives them an opportunity to examine and understand the importance of their participation in community development activities. Aspects like self-governing, self-confidence, etc. are discussed and deliberated during the camps. This helps in getting rid of the naïve beliefs, superstitions, and ignorance. They encourage the people to come forward and participate in community development programmes and set the trend for others to follow. In these meetings, people are encouraged to express their views, grievances and to put forward various suggestions/ strategies etc. for the better environmental health of their locality.

Table No. 3.3: NGOs' efforts in organizing training camps to mobilize people

Scores on organizing training camps	No. Camps	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	10 or less	20	50
Moderate	11-20 camps	13	32.5
High	21 and more camps	7	17.5
Total		40	100

The present study shows that about 20 NGOs have organized 10 or less training camps while 13 NGOs have managed to organize 11-20 training camps in their effort to mobilize the people. About 7 NGOs have organized 21 and more such training camps. Based on the number of camps the NGOs have organized, they are classified into three categories respectively.

Table No. 3.4: Organizing public meetings to mobilize people (last 3-5 years)

Scores on organizing public meetings	No. of meetings organised	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	Less than 15	9	22.5
Moderate	16-25 meetings	18	45
High	More than 25 meetings	21	52.5
Total		40	100

Similarly, NGOs organize public meetings from time to time. This gives an opportunity for both NGOs and local people for a face-to-face interaction. It is observed that most of the NGOs have organized meetings in regular intervals. The frequent public meetings help grassroots NGOs to a great extent in establishing a good rapport with the local people. This NGO-to-people contact generates a great deal of enthusiasm among the people to involve themselves in various activities undertaken by the NGOs. Public meetings are also useful in spreading the message to a larger public. It is observed that about 9 NGOs have organized less than 15 public meetings (large gatherings) whereas as many as 18 NGOs have organized between 16-25 public meetings. About 21 NGOs have organized more than 25 public meetings for the concerned cause. The study shows that an overwhelming majority (75%) of the NGOs have organized public meetings at different levels such as village, *panchayat* and block levels. Some NGOs also have contributed in mobilizing people for district and state level meetings as part of their networking.

Table No. 3.5: Organizing protest actions to mobilize people

Scores organizing people for protest action	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	9	22.5
Moderate	11	27.5
High	20	50
Total	40	100

It is observed that about 26 NGOs have staged demonstrations, which were peaceful in nature. About two NGOs are of the opinion that their demonstrations have turned violent during its course. One interesting finding that could be noted is that only one NGO was involved in blockading the government officials, MPs, MLAs, etc. but about 20 NGOs have staged big marches, rallies and called for *Bandhs* against various anti people and anti environment policies of the government.

Table No. 3.6: Cumulative Score Table on Mobilization of the masses

Scores on mobilization of the masses	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	14	35
Moderate	20	50
High	6	15
Total	40	100

Cumulative score index of the mobilization of masses (Table 3.6) shows that 14 NGOs are figured in low mobilization category whereas in moderate mobilization category the number of NGOs is 20. Only 6 NGOs are found in the high mobilization category.

3.5 Indicator III: People's Participation in Project Activities

This section examines how NGOs win the confidence of the local people and establish a durable relationship among them. One of the ways to bring local people

around is to convince and encourage them to participate in the projects being undertaken by the NGOs. People's participation, help and co-operation become useful for them as well. This is in fact part of the NGOs strategic approach, 'Bottom-Up. People can participate in the projects in its different phases i.e., project identification, formulation, implementation and follow up / maintenance of the project. Once the people get convinced and persuaded that their participation will benefit the region and their community. Once organized, they contribute towards resource generation. In this process, they are encouraged to form informal groups and associations, village group / club, association, etc. Hence, one of the important tasks that NGOs concentrate on at local level is to win over people's support. Before venturing out, they try to muster adequate popular support in the areas of their operation. The local supports not only save them from unwanted expenses but also enthuse in implementing their plans and strategies in an effective way. In order to obtain their active participation, NGOs involve people and try to convince that their participation would make a qualitative and marked difference. And to make this happen, NGOs bring people in large scale closer in an effort to abridge the gap between the people and decision-making bodies. Therefore, they encourage people to come up with suggestions and solutions to the problem. They subsequently incorporate these indigenous practices and knowledge base pointed out by the locals in their project plan / lay out and decision-making strategies.

They carefully and systematically plan out their projects starting from the project formulation phase to project implementation stage. On account of sheer commitment, sustained effort and incurrent voluntarism that these could manage to implement projects in a cost-effective basis and involve beneficiaries and target population to make it a joint venture. Given their limited resources and tough task ahead NGOs feel that people's participation is very crucial in achieving their desired success. They convene meetings at regular interval to discuss and find out the ways to sort out their problems. They encourage people to listen to the experts to obtain inputs / feedback from time to time. NGOs prefer to carry out and propagate a message with the help of entertaining programmes that appeal the masses. Many NGOs find street plays as the suitable and

most effective mode to gain the people's attention. Because in central and coastal Orissa *Jataras* (mobile stage drama) is the most popular form of performing art.

Apparently, NGOs who manage to get more projects benefit the larger population size. With the help of effective project plans they bring the local people closer to their organization and let them be fully aware of the aim and objectives of their organizations. They try to involve people in every stage of the project such as project initiation, project formulation, project designing and project implementation. NGOs undertake a variety of action plans before taking up a project.

The present study explores the efforts and initiatives that NGOs undertake before formally launching of the project and, the extent they encourage and muster popular participation in their projects. Given their limited resources and tough task ahead NGOs feel that people's participation is very crucial in achieving their desired success.

Table No. 3.7: People's Involvement in Project Initiation

Scores on people's involvement in Project Initiation	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	7	17.5
Moderate	12	30
High	21	52.5
Total	40	100

NGOs undertake a variety of action plans before taking up a project. Because they intend to utilize their limited resources in the best possible way by initiating multiple efforts and strategies. The study observes that the majority of NGOs i.e., 21 are highly successful and 12 NGOs are moderately successful in involving local people and extracting possible local resources to make use of those in the execution of projects. Some of them do a preliminary survey exercise about the feasibility of the project and accordingly undertake various exercises prior to taking up projects.

Table No. 3.8: People's participation in project implementation

Scores on People's participation in project implementation	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	8	20
Moderate	14	35
High	18	45
Total	40	100

According to the above table, most of the NGOs are quite successful in involving people in project implementation as about 18 NGOs are found in the high level category whereas about 14 NGOs are confined to moderate category. Only about 8 NGOs have not been so successful in obtaining people's participation in project implementation. Noteworthy that NGOs may involve people in project implementation directly even without involving them at the initiation stage earlier.

Table No. 3.9: People's Involvement in Project Implementation

Scores on Project Implementation	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	12	30
Moderate	15	37.5
High	13	32.5
Total	40	100

It is observed from the above table that majority of the NGOs fall in the twin score category of moderate and high, the total number being the 28. About 12 NGOs are found in low score category implying their poor performance in mustering people's involvement in their project implementation.

Table No. 3.10: People's Involvement in Project Maintenance and Follow up Activities

Scores on people's involvement in project Maintenance and Follow up activities	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	5	12.5
Moderate	18	45
High	17	42.5
Total	40	100

It is often observed that after the implementation of the project, some NGOs rely on the local people and local popular organizations/institutions such as youth club, *mahila samiti*, village committee, etc. to maintain and carry on follow up activities. This in the long run generates a sense of solidarity and we-feeling among the local people to face the existing problem collectively. Participation of the target population in the follow up activities for the project is also another indicator of the bottom-up approach followed by the NGO. Table No. 3.10 shows that most of the NGOs at grassroot levels place their emphasis on people's participation in maintaining the projects. As many as 18 NGOs figure in moderate score category while about 17 NGOs figure in high score category. Only about 5 NGOs are found in low score category as they involve people to a lesser extent in the project maintenance and follow up activities.

Table No. 3.11: Cumulative score table on People's participation in project activities

Cumulative score on people's participation in projects	No. of NGOs	percentage
Low	8	20
Moderate	14	35
High	18	45
Total	40	100

Table 3.11 shows that people participate in different stages of the projects undertaken by NGOs. This suggests that effective and smooth functioning of projects indeed depend on the people's support rendered to those projects. According to our observation, majority of the NGOs fall in high category as far as people's participation in their project activities are concerned. However, about 8 NGOs figured in low category as well. About 14 NGOs are found in moderate category score.

3.6 Indicator IV: Mustering Support

Social movements pertaining to the environment, human rights, consumer rights and women's rights provide convincing examples of the power of voluntary action to initiate transformatory process in society. This can be explained by the fact that the power of voluntary action arises not from the size and resources of individual voluntary organizations, but from the ability of the voluntary sector to coalesce the actions of the larger public through wider and effective networks. These networks help NGOs to reach across intellectuals, press, and community organizations. (Korten, 1990: 2).

Building up strong networks of like-minded NGOs can help to overcome any sense of isolation and provide useful platform for exchanging skills and techniques (Clark, 1991: 99). It is observed that NGOs linked vertically performed better than isolated organizations, but that those horizontally fared even better (Ibid.). As and when they take up issues of public importance and advocate for environmental issues, it becomes essential on their part to forge alliance with other NGOs and set a formidable and unified front.

The networking efforts of NGOs have been measured in terms of actions that NGOs facilitate among various organizations but it is an essential feature of the NGO activity. The common causes that bind them together strengthen their linkages. These are sometimes ephemeral, sometimes enduring, sometimes strategic, and sometimes spiritual. As noted earlier the propensity towards coalition building and the formation of innovative alliances bring about rich dividends for NGOs and helps in achieving their targets. NGOs through their vertical linkages among organizations strengthen the networking. These

connections are also formed across social movements, such as environment, development, health, civil rights, etc. (Keck and Sikkink 1992, Brecher and Costello 1994, Carruthers, 1995 cited in Carruthers, 2002). They cut across social class, ethnicity, levels of education, urban-rural divides, and form at and across all levels (local, regional, state, national, and international).

Linkages between NGOs at the local, national and international level can be an important measure of the vitality of the local NGO community. A crucial dimension of NGO empowerment is the ability of NGOs to work together and share information to promote development. National associations of NGOs can provide a valuable means of information sharing and a common base for dialogue with donors and governments. In some countries, there are national associations of NGOs at the sector level, such as associations of NGOs working in environment health, family planning, etc. It is also desirable to have horizontal linkages between grassroots organizations at the local and regional level. Examples of such kind include federations of cooperatives, federations of local development associations, peasant unions, federations of credit association and so on. Another important set of linkages of local NGOs is with NGOs of other countries at the national and international levels. International NGOs, including co-operative movements create local affiliates and counterparts, which become part of the international network. Increasingly, international NGOs are now creating valuable partnerships with local NGOs, and helping to vitalize the local NGO sector through an exchange of information, experience and technical expertise. Today, there are associations and networks among NGOs in adjacent countries in a region too. Local NGOs also form their own association depending on their interests, size and area of operation. They help each other at the time of need and jointly chalk out strategies to overcome the problems they encounter. At national level, grassroots NGOs receive financial support as well as professional expertise and consultancy from bigger NGOs (both national and international) and in return appraise them about their progress from time to time. Some grassroots NGOs have successfully maintained cordial relationship with international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), both vertically and horizontally (Esman & Uphoff, 1984: 213). As a consequence of this, many NGOs have

adopted an intermediary role to accelerate the creation of local organizations (sometimes referred to as catalysis), to provide assistance in strengthening and expanding such organizations, and fostering linkages between them (Edwrard & Hulme, 1992:12).

Table No. 3.12: Establishing networks with like minded NGOs

Scores on net-working with other NGOs	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	3	7.5
Moderate	6	15
High	31	77.5
Total	40	100

Table No. 3.12 shows that most of the sample NGOs are very well connected and are part of the networks of NGOs. Establishing linkages and mustering support from like-minded NGOs always enhances one's capacity to fight. To the question whether grassroots NGOs have been able to establish network with different NGOs, the study observes that though some NGOs have relations and are in contact with many national and international NGOs, majority of NGOs have established contact with NGOs only at regional level. According to the study about 38 NGOs keep in touch with other VOs in and around the region to expedite the cause they are fighting for. They also have relations with various national and international networks. About 25 NGOs have linkages with regional linkages in Orissa such as (Orissa Development Action Forum (ODAF), SANGHATI, MASS, etc.

Responding to a question that why they need to forge alliance and establish relations with other NGOs, multiple responses were obtained from NGOs. According to 36 NGOs this helps in sharing information. About 31 NGOs feel that it helps in carrying out joint awareness campaign and efforts. About 27 NGOs feel that it helps in staging joint demonstration to bring authorities to the negotiating table. About 29 NGOs feel that these linkages help them in supporting each other and exchanging expertise. They invite each other when they organize workshops, training camps, etc.

Table No. 3.13: Forging alliance with NGOs for joint action

Scores on forging alliance with NGOs to undertake joint campaign	With no. of NGOs	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	1-5	7	17.5
Moderate	6-10	21	52.5
High	11- 15	15	37.5
Total		40	100

Table No. 3.14: Mustering support from political parties

Scores on mustering support from political parties	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low (one party)	3	9
Moderate (two parties)	8	24
High (more than two parties)	22	66
Total	33	

It is observed that though NGOs do not intend to be associated or linked with a particular political party, they express their desire to establish political linkages across political party. According to them, this helps in the smooth implementation of their projects. Therefore, most of the NGOs try to maintain cordial relationships with political parties. Most of them feel that even if they won't get any support, still they will not be hostile to them. Thus, they prefer to maintain a healthy working relationship with the political establishment cutting across party lines. Our data show that majority of the NGOs (22) have managed to obtain multi party support while about 8 NGOs say that they have had support from two major political parties on their way to implementing developmental activities. About 3 NGOs state that they have garnered support from one political party only. Interestingly, about 7 NGOs categorically state that they have neither mustered support nor do they intend to canvass for any kind of support from political parties as part of their ideology.

Obtaining media's support is considered one of the important means/strategies to disseminate information and success stories across. Efforts were made to know whether NGOs have mustered support and got the coverage from media. The study reveals that most of the NGOs (35) have figured in various newspapers both nationally and locally. In case of 11 NGOs, their achievements and success stories are published in various magazines, mostly local ones. About 15 NGOs' efforts have been broadcast in TV network both at local and national levels. About 3 NGOs have managed to broadcast their achievements in Radio network.

Another way to disseminate information and establish linkage is through seminars, conferences, etc. Workshops on specific topics that bring grassroots workers together from different parts help in knowing strategies and efforts undertaken by NGOs cutting geographical boundaries (Clark, 1991:99).

To a question, whether grassroots NGOs organize seminars, etc. to popularize the cause they fight for, about 13 NGOs say that they have organized 10 or less such events while about 18 NGOs have organized such events ranging from 10-25. About 9 NGOs have organized seminars more than 25 times. Based on the number of events organized by them, they have been categorized into three categories.

Table No. 3.15: Organizing seminars, conferences, (last 5 years) etc.

Scores on organizing seminars/conferences	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	13	32.5
Moderate	18	45
High	9	22.5
Total	40	100

Most of the NGOs are found in low category as far as their efforts in organizing seminars, conferences.

Table No. 3.16: Cumulative Score Table on Mustering Support

Cumulative score on obtaining support	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	10	25
Moderate	23	57.5
High	7	17.5
Total	40	100

Table 3.16 shows that most of the NGOs (23) are found in moderate category in their efforts in mustering support from various quarters as discussed in the above sections.

3.7 Indicator V: Judicial Support

(Advocacy)

What is called "NGO advocacy" within the structural adjustment discourse is an expansion of communication between NGOs and government or multilateral bureaucracies, to exchange opinions about and improve upon the implementation of aid-supported projects. NGOs have come to be a force in many societies, or are at least so perceived. NGOs have come to mobilize, articulate and represent people's interests or concerns at different levels of decision-making such as local, national and international. This advocacy work is increasingly seen by NGOs as an integral part of the role they play in civil society. Using information as an important tool, it entails to bring changes in the existing modes of development and change. Advocacy: NGOs can have a strong advocacy role that can mould policies of governments and commercial organizations (Rao, 1996:271).

Advocacy is central to the functions of NGOs and they are often able to accomplish significant policy changes through lobbying at different levels and forums. Advocacy can be defined from the vantage point of unequal power distribution among various actors and, it could be seen as one of the mechanisms to wrest the initiative from the higher bodies. Despite being grassroots NGOs, they can influence the decision-making bodies by negotiating with the authorities, getting the favorable court orders, etc.

NGOs as watchdogs of civil society make every possible effort to bring back the decision making bodies to negotiating table and compel them to reconsider the decisions against which they stage protest. The policies that hinder the interests of society and people are fought out at grassroots level and taken to the courts. Citing people's apathy, problems, they make sincere efforts to obtain favorable court verdicts and enforce decision-making authorities to roll back their decisions. Similarly, in certain occasions NGOs enforce authorities to the negotiating table and put pressure to necessitate changes and modifications in decisions. Displaying their skill and acumen at negotiating table, in most of the occasions they are able to bring certain amount of changes/modifications in the decisions and policies.

As the study indicates there are quite a few grassroots NGOs those which have managed to alter the policies (environmental decisions) by their unrelenting efforts and skillful negotiations. Government policy on Kendu leaves in Orissa has undergone changes due to the consistent pressure amounted from NGOs on the state government can be seen as an instance. NGOs carry out various popular projects not only to promote community development but also to become self-sustained and self-sufficient organization.

NGOs role in catalyzing and federating local level organizations makes positive contribution in reshaping policies, redefining and ultimately democratizing development (Clark, 1991: 209).

Table No. 3.17: Obtaining Judicial Support

Score on obtaining judicial support	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low (one)	21	63.6
Moderate (two)	9	27.2
High (more than two)	3	9
Total	33	100

Out of 40 NGOs 33 NGOs have been involved in advocacy activities in connection with obtaining judicial support. They have gone to the courts on issues relating to forests, against traders exploiting forest resources, etc. However, their performance on advocacy is not satisfactory as most of the NGOs are found in low score category.

It is important to note that various types of output can generate social change. Advocacy outputs seek to direct or create social change by influencing public policy or corporate practices (Wolch, 1990 cited in Kendall and Knapp, 1994:203). NGOs also try to increase their impact by lobbying with government and other decision-making bodies through employing different means. It is important because in many cases under development lies in the political and economic structures i.e., state and the corporate sector respectively (Edward & Hulme, 1992: 9).

Media's Role: Media helps in carrying out noble messages across that NGOs are engaged in canvassing. From print media to electronic media all play a significant role in bringing the issues and efforts of NGOs into the limelight. This helps to gain the wider recognition. In the present study it is observed that NGOs have poised a great faith on media and drawn their attention from time to time. Their activities have found place both in national and local newspapers. Their sustained and committed efforts have also drawn the attention from TV networks. A few NGOs have managed to get the TV coverage both in local and national TV network.

3.8 Indicator VI: Empowerment

Self-perception is the reflection of empowerment. The process of empowerment refers to power that controls one's own life. Once people participate in decision-making process for shaping their environment and for utilizing their resources, it can be treated as their true empowerment. 'Empowerment as an objective of economic development should be a welcome addition to the democratic discourse' (Mohanty, 1995: 1434-1436). The term empowerment, a concept to be contended with liberation, freedom and equity has become a global discourse. The NGOs have been the first to accept this discourse. By doing so, NGOs have shown the indication that these are committed and that they are part

of grassroots movement aiming at social transformation. Realizing the increasing role of NGO, state has also extended its supportive role and they together play a comprehensive role for empowering the people of the deprived group (Ibid.). Quoting the Indian country paper Mohanty further says the non-governmental/voluntary organizations can provide great help in this process, particularly providing the support structure needed for such groups and associations and liaising between them and the government so that both the groups and the government are sensitized to an organized approach to development (cited in Ibid. 1435). However, he cautioned that the collaboration between NGO and GO might curb the movement initiatives.

NGOs propagate that when people are organized and united against a particular venture, it generates success. Once people are empowered, they take initiative and involve themselves in mobilizing resources. The empowerment process becomes sustainable only through the creation of sustainable community based organizations. NGOs try to ensure that empowerment as a process in which the disadvantaged retake control over their own lives. This brings about a qualitative improvement in their life. The process of empowerment creates an environment in which people can question and challenge the reasons for their backwardness and start learning to improve their conditions on their own. And NGOs take measures to promote the process of empowerment after making the downtrodden understand the mode of their domination and its remedial effective action.

Empowerment as one of the crucial indicators of NGO effectiveness has been defined in this study in terms of beneficiaries' participation in projects in very many ways, their feedback in combating problems and developing community based voluntary institutions to sustain awareness campaign and development projects. Use of indigenous practices, beliefs and knowledge are often advocated to a great extent to arrest local problems.

Self-perception is the reflection of empowerment. The process of empowerment refers to power that controls one's life. Once the people participate in decision-making process, this helps in achieving their objectives in a very significant and efficient manner. 'Empowerment as an objective of economic development should be a welcome addition

to the democratic discourse' (Mohanty, 1995: 1434-1436). The NGOs have been first to accept this discourse, thereby identified themselves as agents of grassroots movements interested in social transformation. Realizing the increasing role of NGO, state has extended its supportive role and they together play a strategic role for empowering the people of disadvantaged group.

The Indian county paper says the non-government/voluntary organization can provide great help in this process particularly providing the support structure needed for such groups and associations and liaising between them and the government so that both the groups and the government are sensitized to an organized approach to development (Mohanty, 1995:1435-36).

NGOs propagate that when people are organized and united against a particular venture, it generates success. Once people are empowered, they take initiative and involve themselves in mobilizing resources. Once the empowerment process is made sustainable, the creation of sustainable community becomes a reality. NGOs perceived to be more effective executors of development projects as they are more likely to be sensitive to the needs of the deprived and closer to the grassroots problem and concerns in their operating style.

An enabling condition is usually manifested by individual self-assertion, collective mobilization, resistance and/or protest challenging existing power relations. It entails a process aimed at changing the nature and consequently the distribution of power. In the present study, we have considered empowerment an indicator of the NGO effectiveness. This has been defined in terms of beneficiaries' participation in projects, obtaining their feedback in combating environmental problems and developing local institutions to sustain awareness campaign. Given below are the data tables of empowerment.

Table No. 3.18: People's Participation in the Projects

Score on people's participation in the projects	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	8	20
Moderate	14	35
High	18	45
Total	40	100

NGOs tend to involve people in their project initiatives. Taking into account their participation at project initiation, implementation and maintenance stages, it is found that majority of NGOs (18) have been highly successful in getting people's help and support where as 14 NGOs are placed in moderate category and 8 NGOs are found to be in low category.

The Table 3.18 shows that beneficiaries participate in large numbers in NGO activities. About 20 NGOs report that they witness larger beneficiary participation while 17 NGOs are found in moderate category. For 3 NGOs beneficiary participation is very less and they figured in low category.

Table No. 3.19: Obtaining people's feedback

Score on obtaining people's feedback to check environmental problems	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	17	42.5
Moderate	13	32.5
High	10	25
Total	40	100

Indigenous practices and beliefs, local knowledge helps largely to prevent environmental problems. Table 3.19 entails whether NGOs really entertain feedback from the people and whether this really helps them. It is observed that 17 NGOs are not so successful in obtaining peoples' feedback that helps them and their activities in due course. About 13 NGOs are found in moderate category implying that they do

incorporate people's ideas and feedback on environmental issues. About 10 NGOs place maximum importance on people's feedback ideas and found in high category.

Table No. 3.20: Developing local institutions to sustain awareness campaign (last 5years)

Score on developing local institutions to sustain awareness campaign	No. of local institutions	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	5-10	8	20
Moderate	11-15	14	35
High	15 and above	18	45
Total		40	100

Local help and efforts always provide an added advantage to NGOs. NGOs initiate and facilitate the environmental awareness building process but it is the local institutions that carry forward the message. A sustained awareness campaign is ensured by them. In the present study NGOs are observed to be active in establishing local institutions such as forest protection committees, youth clubs, women's group etc. 18 NGOs are found in high category which suggests that they have been successful in creating local institutions. About 14 NGOs are observed in moderate category whereas 8 NGOs are placed in low category for creating local/village level institutions.

Table No. 3. 21: Cumulative Score Table on Empowerment

Cumulative status of NGOs on empowerment	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	10	25
Moderate	21	52.5
High	9	22.5
Total	40	100

Cumulative score table on empowerment exhibits that most of the NGOs (21) are in moderate category whereas 10 NGOs belong to low and 9 NGOs are found in the high category.

Table No 3.22: Cumulative Score Table on Effectiveness of NGOs

Cumulative effectiveness status	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	16	40
Moderate	17	42.5
High	7	17.5
Total	40	100

After taking into account the above-mentioned indicators and their respective scores, a cumulative index on effectiveness was prepared. It is evident from the above table that most of the NGOs are centered on both moderate and low categories where as only 7 NGOs are found in the highly effective category according to our observation.

3.9 Summing up

On the basis of the conceptualization and measurement of the indicators, we found that majority of NGOs (17) have been moderately effective in achieving their objectives. Though NGOs have been very successful in creating awareness among the people through the deployment of various measures, their efforts in advocacy and obtaining support from media, political parties and other supportive and like-minded NGOs have not been so successful. This can be attributed to their small size, limited scope and grassroots location and operation.

Chapter IV

Social Correlates of NGO Effectiveness

This chapter examines a set of hypotheses formulated between the dependent variable (effectiveness) and a set of independent variables. The chapter operationalizes each independent variable such as NGOs' approach, their accountability, their sustainability, their work culture, employee motivation, etc. It interprets the empirical findings of the study. The cross tabulation of the data and chi square tests explain the trend and significance of the association between variables. It is the major analytical component of the thesis. Having defined the concept of 'NGO Effectiveness' and operationalized it for an empirical exercise, which itself is a novel exercise, in this chapter we have examined the empirical correlates of the concept.

4.1 Approaches Undertaken by NGOs

NGOs undertake multiple approaches in order to meet their goal and achieve their objectives. These approaches can broadly be classified into two such as Bottom-Up and Top-Down approach. Bottom-up approach differs from top-down in its emphasis on community participation, grassroots mobilization, and local decision making (Finger, 1994:32). It argues that community participation, grassroots organizing through creating sustained community groups of various forms such as *Mahila Samiti*, youth club, etc. and promoting, participatory decision-making and local self-reliance will ultimately pay the dividends. This approach facilitates beneficiary participation in implementing development activities and thereby promotes participatory development.

Contrary to bottom-up approach, top-down approach makes the NGO function in collaboration with the government and emphasizes on lobbying and bargaining with

authorities at different platforms, building up pressures through various campaign mechanisms, actively engaging in advocacy activities, etc. Let's look at the operationalization of Bottom-up approach as used in this study. NGOs promote top-down reforms by protesting human rights abuses, and by challenging government repression in court (Fisher 1993).

4.2 Bottom-Up approach

The bottom-up approach has been operationalized in terms of indicators such as (i) awareness building efforts of NGOs, (ii) people's participation in projects in very many ways, (iii) people's involvement in creating people's institutions, etc.

4.2.1 Awareness Building

Awareness campaign is one of the effective ways of spreading the message among masses. Awareness building is essential, as it is one of the most effective ways to make people realize about their role and responsibility for various developmental activities. NGOs that operate in remote, inaccessible areas and deal with mostly illiterate, ill-informed people, the first and foremost thing for them is to create confidence among the people. Therefore, awareness building is considered as an important indicator to examine effectiveness of NGOs. Table No. 4.1 to Table No. 4.8 is displaying various types of popular involvements in the NGO efforts. These popular involvements are demonstrations of NGOs practicing bottom-up approach.

Table No. 4.1: People's involvement in Awareness Building Campaigns

Scores on Awareness Building Campaign	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	8	20
Moderate	14	35
High	18	45
Total	40	100

To effectively carrying out their awareness campaign NGOs develop and cultivate various local institutions such as youth clubs, village committees to ensure a sustained awareness campaign. The efforts of the sample NGOs in involving people in their awareness building campaigns seem to have been reasonably successful as 18 NGOs fall into high score category and 14 fall into moderate score category. (See chapter 3 for details)

Mobilizing people to stage protests against various government decisions that antagonize the local interests is one of the major strategies adopted by NGOs. These mobilize and convince the people about their mission about the necessity and importance of popular support. The mobilization of the people leads to the expressions of popular protests in various ways such as silent protest marches, peaceful protest marches, staging *dharnas*, *gheraos*, etc. Though most of the NGOs prefer peaceful ways of protesting and more often involve themselves in awareness campaigns, some of the NGOs do not hesitate to mobilize people against the government decisions even if it turns violent. NGOs acting as a pressure group, organize people to stage protest against adversarial decisions and the policies that go against the local interests, their environment and their habitat. NGOs organize people in various ways to ensure effectiveness. Some NGOs confine them to peaceful protest while some go on to stage marches/*padyatras* while some are involved in *gheraos*. Some also face government repression on their way to make demonstration. Some NGOs also have submitted petitions against the government bodies to snatch the initiative.

On NGOs' ability to mobilize people, (Verba & Nyle, 1972, Knoke, 1982, 89 cited in Knoke, 1990 1041-63) opine that voluntary organizations are well known social foci for mobilizing people to participate both in internal organizational governance and in the affairs of the local community. NGOs not only encourage people to participate in their activities but also encourage them to mobilize resources both in cash and kind. They try to convince the local people that a sustained effort is very much essential to fight for the local environmental problems and their continuous efforts would make a difference.

Table No. 4.2: Measures undertaken by NGOs to mobilize people

NGOs measures for mobilizing people	NO. of NGOs (n=40)	Percentage
Strikes (Bandh/Boycott)	14	35
<i>Gheraos</i>	8	20
Rallies	34	85
Other (peaceful silent protest marches, <i>dharnas</i> , hunger strikes, etc.)	18	45

Table No. 4.3: Popular participation in Protest campaign

Scores on People's Participation in Protest Campaigns	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	11	27.5
Moderate	11	27.5
High	18	45
Total	40	100

As has been mentioned earlier, the mobilization of the people leads to the expressions of popular protests in various ways such as silent protest marches, non-violent protest marches, staging *dharnas*, *gheraos*, etc. Based on the scores assigned in terms of frequency and intensity of these protest campaigns, our observation shows that majority of sample NGOs 18 (45%) are successfully engaged in the people's mobilization process and have consequently figured in high category. When 11 (27.5%) NGOs are found less successful in their efforts to mobilize the masses, another 11 (27.5%) NGOs are found to be moderately successful in such efforts.

4.2.2 Project Activities

Project is the mainstay of NGOs, because it is through the implementation of projects they carry out their developmental activities. On account of sheer commitment and sustained efforts, these could manage to implement projects in a cost-effective basis and involve beneficiary target population making it a joint venture. Given their limited resources, socially vulnerable sections they deal with and the hostile logistics/landscapes in which the NGOs operate, it is felt that people's participation is very crucial in

achieving their desired success. These intend to utilize their limited resources in the best possible way by initiating multiple efforts and strategies. Project formulation, implementation and maintenance are significant aspects of work by NGO at grassroots level. Because it is through projects they come closer to the local people. They convince the people to come forward to participate in the projects in a big way. They involve people in the projects starting from the project initiation through project implementation to completion.

It is widely believed that they implement projects effectively with smaller budgets and manpower. Hence, we try to explore the modalities that they apply prior to the implementation plan.

Table No. 4.4: People's Participation in NGO Activities

Popular Participation in Projects	No. of NGOs (n= 40)	Percentage
Project Initiation	23	57.5
Project Implementation	32	80
Project Maintenance	27	67.5

Project Initiation: Local feedback and prior knowledge about the project site is considered very essential for smooth execution of the project. The present study explores the efforts and initiatives that NGOs unleash before formally launching of the project.

It is observed that NGOs undertake a variety of action plans before taking up a project. Some of these do a preliminary survey exercise about the feasibility of the projects and popular involvement by identifying the bottlenecks and accordingly undertake various rapport-building exercises prior to taking up the projects.

Table No. 4.5: People's involvement in Project initiation

Scores on Project Initiation	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	11	27.5
Moderate	15	37.5
High	14	35
Total	40	100

This has been measured on the basis of the efforts taken by NGOs to obtain people's support and feedback prior to the launching of the projects. The data have been gathered under several questions, such as, whether NGOs have taken beneficiaries' views into consideration before the implementation of projects, whether they have received suggestions and remedial measures of the people, whether they have received technical advice, etc. The responses to these questions make the sub-index of 'project initiation'. It is observed that 11 (27.5 %) NGOs are placed in low category as far as their efforts in 'people's involvement' at the project initiation stage is concerned. About 14 (35%) NGOs are found in high category by involving people and by obtaining their support in various forms where as 15 (37.5 %) NGOs are found at moderate level.

Project Implementation: For the smooth and effective implementation of projects, NGOs depend largely on local popular participation. It is through the implementation of projects they carry out their developmental activities. On account of sheer commitment and sustained efforts, these could manage to implement projects in a cost-effective basis and involve the target population making it a joint venture of the NGOs and the beneficiaries. Given their limited resources, socially vulnerable sections they deal with, and the hostile logistics/landscapes in which the NGOs operate, it is felt that people's participation is very crucial in achieving their desired success.

Table No. 4.6: People's involvement in Project implementation

Scores on Project Implementation	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	8	20
Moderate	17	42.5
High	15	37.5
Total	40	100

People's participation in project implementation has been observed in response to the responses like, whether NGOs collaborate with people in the project areas, whether NGOs implement projects with less of their staff and more with the local people and whether they have sought and made use of local indigenous knowledge bases in

implementing their projects, etc. With regard to sample NGOs' efforts in obtaining people's support and participation in project implementation phase, it is observed that (Table 4.6) majority of the NGOs fall in the twin score category of moderate and high, their total number being the 32. About 8 NGOs are found in low score category, implying their poor performance in involving people in their project implementation.

Further, in an attempt to explore nature of people's involvement in project implementation, it is found that 12 (30%) NGOs implement projects with the help of target population alone. About 15 (37.5%) NGOs are found to take the help of people both at the project area and peoples' institutions and bodies in the same area. Most significantly, they also have sought technical and remedial advises from the local people and make use of their local experiences and traditional knowledge bases in the project.

In an effort to know whether NGOs have entertained the criticisms/suggestions of people apart from their participation in project implementations, it is found that 17 NGOs (42.5%) have only received suggestions from local people while 13 (32.5 %) NGOs have entertained their constructive criticisms as well. 10 NGOs (25%) were not hesitant to accept critical suggestions of the people.

Table No. 4.7: People's involvement in NGOs' Project maintenance and Follow up activities

Scores on Maintenance and Follow up	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	7	17.5
Moderate	17	42.5
High	16	40
Total	40	100

People's participation in NGOs' project maintenance activities is also considered as another indicator of the bottom-up approach. Before withdrawing from the project NGOs form different popular institutions at local level for follow up activities to ensure its sustained impact. To examine the measures undertaken by NGOs for the maintenance of the projects, data were collected on NGOs' efforts in creating local institutions, for

beneficiaries' participation in the projects, etc. Table No. 4.7 shows that as many as 17 (42.5%) NGOs are figured in moderate score category while about 16 (40%) NGOs figured in high score category. Thus, good numbers of NGOs are engaged in institution building at local level, so that after their withdrawal from the project after sometime, the villagers will be able to do the follow up on their own. Only about 7 (17.5%) NGOs are found to be involving people to a lesser extent in the project maintenance.

Another indicator to measure bottom-up approach was to know the extent to which NGOs involve or take the help of local existing institutions, and whether they create such new grassroots institutions i.e., village groups, youth clubs, *mahila samitis*, self-help groups, etc. to further the local efforts and mitigate the local environmental problems. Because local institutions such as youth clubs, *mahila samiti*, self-help groups, village groups like village forest protection committees, village watershed management committees, etc. effectively carry forward the efforts initiated by NGOs. Being the native to the region they understand the local conditions, strength and constraints better and accordingly help NGOs in meeting their objectives. About 17 (42.5%) NGOs are found more kin in taking the help of existing local bodies without giving much importance to the creation of new bodies and organizations. Only about 4 (10%) NGOs say that they have not been successful in getting the help of local bodies but they have created quite a few grassroots organizations by their own efforts. About 19 (47.5%) NGOs not only take the help of the existing bodies but also are found to have created new grassroots organization to arrest the local environmental problems.

Table No. 4.8: NGOs' efforts in creating People's Institutions (last 5 years)

Scores on creating Peoples' Institution	No. of people's institutions created by NGOs	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	1-5	11	27.5
Moderate	6-10	11	27.5
High	11-15	18	45
Total		40	100

The Table 4.8 shows NGOs have established people's institutions such as youth clubs, *mahila samitis*, self-help groups, etc. Majority of NGOs (18) have been successful in establishing local institutions/groups. However, for moderate and low category their numbers are 11 each.

Our data further reveal that about 19 (47.5%) of the sample NGOs have managed to get the government support in the form of training staff and monitoring projects. Local officials have helped them in providing ideas and feedback. Similarly, number of NGOs those have taken the help of government officials in project execution is observed to be 11. As far as the project implementation is concerned only 5 (12.5%) NGOs are reported to have claimed the support and co-operation from the government officials. Rest of the NGOs either have not obtained support or could not be able to muster any governmental support to expedite their cause. Some NGOs are not enthusiastic at all to seek governmental support as a matter of their principle and ideology. And the NGOs who take up this mode of intervention i.e., taking the help of government bodies from time to time without involving people in large numbers are considered as top-down oriented NGOs. The data reveal that only about 5 (12.5%) NGOs are exclusively top-down oriented with minor variations/exceptions. Out of rest 35 bottom-up oriented NGOs, about 25 NGOs are found to be least top-down and highly bottom-up oriented. And there are nearly 10 NGOs, which are exclusively bottom-up oriented with minor variations/exceptions in their functioning. Therefore, we can say that there are three categories of NGOs in terms of their functional approaches. Firstly, those, which follow purely bottom-up, approach, secondly, those which follow purely the top down approach and finally, those which follow a cocktail of both the approaches. Leaving aside those NGOs which are exclusively top-down oriented, within those which are exclusively and partially bottom-up oriented a further categorization has been made to accommodate the complex data pattern that we generated in the course of our data analysis. These are classified as Radical, Conformist and Proactive. The Radical approach could be defined as a form of bottom-up approach where NGOs basically mobilize people to take up the violent forms of collective action e.g., strike/ *morcha*, demonstration/ protests, *gheraos*, etc. to meet their demands. These could be ideologically anti-establishment NGOs. While

the conformist approach can be defined as that type of bottom-up approach, which encourages and engages people in project activities i.e., project formulation, implementation, maintenance etc. without necessarily being anti-establishment. These believe in functioning based on co-operation. In the course of the completion of the projects these create various peoples' institutions that sustain their efforts later on. On the contrary, the proactive approach could be defined as a form of bottom up approach that advocates prompt and sweeping action. It encourages people to stage protests/demonstrations/strikes, etc. but not in a violent way. Creating awareness is another important strategy for proactive bottom-up approach. The awareness building mechanisms such as street plays, *padyatras*, poster/ banner/ post card campaigning etc. can be seen as a part of proactive strategy. These do not hesitate to take assistance from government organizations at times, as these are not ideologically anti-establishment, these rather believe in making a louder impact by involving people. On the basis of this conceptualization, it is observed that (of the total 35) 12 (34.28%) NGOs are proactive, about 16 (45.71) NGOs are conformists and about 7 (20%) NGOs are radicals. May be it has already been found that organizations which espouse bottom-up approaches and concepts do not necessarily practice them in the field (Sreen, 1995 and Schmale, 1993). But our formulations are purely empirically based and not theoretically/conceptually based to leave scope for differentiating between concept and reality.

4.3 Bottom Up Approach and Effectiveness

The level of effectiveness of NGOs is related to their various management practices/approaches (Herman & Renz, 1997:186). The approaches that NGOs deploy to carry out their activities are broadly categorized into two i.e., bottom-up and top-down. Bottom-up approach emphasizes on community participation through grassroots movements, and local participation in projects and decision making (Finger, 1994:32). Hence, village community groups, inter village committees, grassroots organizations carry a significant importance.

It was hypothesized that NGOs whose activities are based on 'bottom up' method are more effective at grassroots level. This method helps in building a successful rapport

with the target group and local community. Since this approach emphasizes on community participation, NGOs who employ this approach make use of the local resources to maintain their projects and generate awareness among the people.

Table No. 4.9: Cross Tabulation Bottom-up approach Vs. Effectiveness

Effectiveness/ Approach	High intensive Bottom-Up practices	Low Intensive Bottom-Up practices	Total
Effective	10	2	12
Less effective	11	12	23
Total	21	14	35*

Chi square Value: 4.45 DF 1 significant level .05 and .01

* 5 NGOs are exclusively top-down oriented (35+5=40, the sample)

The cross tabulation in Table No. 4.9 shows somewhat mixed results. The less effective NGOs (23), have found to adopt high and low intensive bottom-up practices, leaving little room for speculations. But from among the effective NGOs almost 67% i.e., majority are found to have adopted high intensive bottom-up practices. It implies that high intensive bottom up practices tend to be more associated with effectiveness. Hence, the high intensive bottom up practices are more likely to render an NGO effective than any other types of practices. The statistically significant chi square value entails the same. This finding is also in conformity with the social movement theory because high intensive bottom-up practices necessarily involve larger popular participation that leads to mobilization and consequently the institutionalization of these practices.

We started off with the assumption that grassroots NGOs address the problems and consequently achieve their objectives with the help of bottom-up approach. Because this approach helps NGOs to address local problems meticulously and enable these to elicit local views and facilitate people to participate in mainstream activities related to decision-making. However, our study observes that most of these NGOs follow a mix up of the both approaches. While these feel that it is bottom-up approach which helps them to establish rapport and working relation with local people, at the same time, these take

the help of government bodies for facilitating themselves and for their advocacy work. Hence, it becomes clear that these NGOs are least bothered about the means (ways to address problem they deal with), and are more concerned about the ends (the objective that they set to achieve).

4.4 Reward System and Effectiveness:

Reward system in voluntary organizations is different from that in other formal organizations as group interest transcends the self-interest in these organizations. It is believed that the employees in NGOs are motivated by the principles of voluntarism and commitment. Since NGOs are in the social and voluntary sector (as opposed to the market or the state), there dominates the spirit of altruism and voluntarism. The altruism, cause related motivation gives non-profit organizations their greatest strength (Selby, 1978: 98). NGOs are 'value driven' organizations and can be distinguished from other organizations in terms of efficiency and accountability (Brett, 1989: 269), and thus, set them apart from others.

As NGOs are voluntary and non-profit organizations, it is believed that the sense of altruism has prevailed among the employees of NGOs. In case of altruism, personal interest is sacrificed for the sake of collectivity. Workers tend to perform better if they are believed and convinced that their organization is promoting the goal that they value. This motivational drive stems from the convictions and emotions. According to Ashman, (2001:85-88) altruism implies a willingness to make a contribution to others without expecting a calculable return, thus allowing interaction in which there need not be a direct relationship between contribution and reward.

Against this theoretical background an attempt is made to find out the existing reward system in grassroots NGOs and to examine relationship between reward system and the effectiveness of NGOs. Reward system has been operationally defined in terms of 1. Promotions and 2. Awards conferred on the employees. The two major components of the award sub index are (i) financial i.e., fellowships, incentives and (ii) recognition i.e., prizes, nominations for representations, etc. The cumulative scores on reward system (scores on promotion within the organization + scores on awards) have been cross

tabulated with the scores on NGO effectiveness. The emergent trend showed that the reward system does have an association with effectiveness as the calculated chi square value is found to be greater than table value of significance both at .05 and 01 level of significance at 1 degree of freedom (see Table No. 4. 15).

Table No. 4.10: Organizational Promotions (Rewards)

Scores on rewards like promotions and additional responsibilities given to employees in the NGOs	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	20	50
Moderate	17	42.5
High	3	7.5
Total	40	100

In the context of important organizational rewards like promotions, assigning additional responsibilities, etc., (Table No.4.10), it is found that as many as 20 (50%) NGOs figured in low category while about 17 (42.5%) NGOs are found in moderate category and a negligible 3 (7.5%) NGOs are observed to be in high category.

Apart from financial rewards, organizational rewards in the form of prizes, nomination are also considered as the part of reward system prevalent in NGOs. It is found that employees at grassroots NGOs do enjoy certain amount of organizational recognition. They represent their NGOs in various conclaves, meetings, etc. In case of any substantive achievement they are given achievement certificates, etc. It is observed that (table 4.11) most of the NGOs (23) are found to be in low category where as 10 NGOs belong to moderate and 7 NGOs are in high category as far as organizational recognition given by NGOs to their employees is concerned.

Table No. 4. 11: Organizational Recognition (Rewards)

Scores on Prizes, Nominations and other types of recognitions	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	23	57.5
Moderate	10	25
High	7	17.5
Total	40	100

Table No. 4.12: Regularity of Awards in the Organization

Scores on Regularity of awards conferred	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	16	40
Moderate	15	37.5
High	9	22.5
Total	40	100

In a bid to know how regularly employees at grassroots NGOs are given rewards both in terms of cash and recognition (as has been explained above), we observe that incentives, awards are not regular phenomena for them. About 16 (40%) NGOs are found in low score category implying that employees in these NGOs rarely receive any awards and incentives. In moderate score category we have about 15 (37.5%) NGOs, which occasionally receive some rewards. Though a small number, in case of 9 (22.5%) NGOs, employees do receive awards and incentives regularly.

Table No. 4.13: Financial Incentives Given by NGOs

Scores on Existing Provision for perks and Financial Incentives	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	33	82.5
Medium	5	12.5
High	2	5
Total	40	100

Further, NGOs were categorized on the basis of their provisions of perks and financial incentives accrued to their employees. In case of 33 (82.5%) NGOs, an overwhelming number, provisions and perks and financial incentives are virtually an issue of non-existence. These all came under low score category. About 5 (12.5%) NGOs are in moderate category as they have some provisions for perks for their employees. Their employees do receive perks whenever they contribute something significant for their organization. Though negligible, only 2 (5%) NGOs have satisfactory perk provisions for their employees. This may be the plight of grassroots NGOs studied. This category of sample NGOs is not representative of the whole lot of NGOs that make the third sector of India. In contrast among these underfed small grassroots NGOs, there does exist a sizeable section of NGOs that operates somewhat like the corporate sector. They resemble the corporate sector in size and culture. To mention about the corporate culture of that section of the NGOs, a couple of contextual points will suffice. Many of this corporate type of NGOs spend huge sums, a sizable part of their revenue, in their executives six/seven figure pay packages, their cell phones, luxury cars and their frequent trips abroad. Some of them function like MNCs having regular oversea offices in dozens of countries abroad. These mostly peddle the money of western corporate philanthropy and inter governmental/national aids. All of them are not necessarily developed country based and a few of them are developing country based.

Table No. 4.14: Cumulative Scores on Reward System

Cumulative Scores on the index of NGOs Reward system	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	14	35
Moderate	19	47.5
High	7	17.5
Total	40	100

The cumulative index as presented in the Table No. 4.14 shows that about 14 (35%) NGOs are in low score category in the overall reward system index and about 19

(47.5%) NGOs are in moderate score category while only about 7 (17.5%) NGOs figure in high score category.

Table No. 4.15: Cross Tabulation, NGO Effectiveness Vs. Reward System

Levels of Effectiveness/ Reward System	Better Reward system	Skeletal reward system	Total
Effective	3	9	12
Less effective	10	18	28
Total	13	27	40

Chi square value: 0.43 DF 1, Level of significance 0.05 and 0.01 level.
Not significant at

The chi square value of the above variables indicates that there exists no significant relations between NGO reward system and their effectiveness. This is contrary to the larger organizations where productivity is believed to be positively related to the existing reward system. In larger organizations, better reward system is believed to be a predictor for better production in larger, formal organizations, it is not so in case of grassroots NGOs. The result enunciated in the present study, entails the same. As many as 9 NGOs found in effective category despite skeletal reward system suggests that in grassroots NGOs reward system is not well identified and categorized. Moreover, these NGOs cannot afford to offer any substantial remuneration and other form of material support. Further, in the context of issue based NGOs like environmental NGOs, the sensitivity and commitment of employees towards their organization and the cause they fight for also to a great extent minimize their materialistic aspirations. As the employees in NGOs remain more concerned to a cause (environment) high material benefits for them become secondary.

However, these organizations enthuse and encourage their employees by offering recognition, conferring non-material rewards, etc. The self-interest and even opportunistic motivation could also find place in voluntary sector even though it is argued that the employees of voluntary organizations are altruistic, their altruism needs to

be awarded (Brett, 1993: 275). Since NGOs are in the social arena (civil society as opposed to the market or the state) relationship of altruism and reciprocity dominate.

In an effort to know employee's response to the existing skeletal reward system in grassroots NGOs, it is further observed that reward system prevalent in the grassroots NGOs differ in many ways from the conventional reward system in formal organizations. In voluntary organizations, that too in grassroots NGOs, incentives do not come regularly nor do the employees expect an unusual remuneration. It is observed from the interaction with the employees that they are well aware of the resource constraints of their organizations and they hardly demand extra remuneration even though they work overtime. In the light of this observation, it can be attributed to the fact that the spirit of voluntarism to an extent influences and motivates the employees. As an NGO personnel puts it 'the satisfaction we receive from our work is valued much more than any tangible gains'. Some others in support of his observation say that 'most of the employees have sacrificed material comforts for the sake of community work and do not even bother to move on to better places though they are well capable of getting better opportunities'. And the other reason behind this non association between the otherwise friendly variables could be the smallness of the size of these grassroots NGOs manned by committed village level workers and the small quantum of the financial resources they mobilize for themselves as project margins.

At the same time, we must accept that self-interest and even opportunistic motivation could also find place in voluntary sector even though it is argued that the employees of voluntary organizations are altruistic, their altruism needs to be awarded (Brett, 1993:275).

4.5 Motivation and NGO Effectiveness

The level of motivation among the employees is believed to be a strong predictor of high productivity in organizational research. Besides rich personal resources, strong motivation can form a basis for superior and creative performance by administrators, professional staff and voluntary workers (Selby, 1978: 92). Enhancing satisfaction and

motivation of workers can help reduce dissatisfaction, absenteeism and non-compliance with minimal performance requirements (Harrison, 1987:39). Awards, good employee-employer relations, internal communication, along with a strong sense of motivation contribute towards better results for the non-profit organizations (Selby, 1978). Hence, in the present study, motivational level among the NGO employees has been perceived as a predictor variable of NGO effectiveness. The motivation of the employees has been operationally defined in terms of their job commitment and job involvement.

Organizational effectiveness is positively associated with commitment to the organization, job situations (job characteristics) and involvement in the immediate job (job involvement) (Garain, 1998: 279).

Organizations must secure members' commitment in order to hold members and channel their efforts toward organization goals. Members commitment is particularly crucial for organizations which derive most of their necessary inputs from the contributions and activities of members.

The commitment of participation is vital both for the organization, (in terms of turnover rates, performance and for the individual member's sense of fulfillment. Commitment refers to an individual member's loyalty to the organization and his positive evaluation and acceptance of the goals and values of the organization.

Table No. 4.16: Job commitment among employees

Scores on Employees' Job commitment	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	9	
Moderate	17	
High	14	
Total	40	

Table No. 4.16 shows the level of job commitment among NGO employees. High job involvement and job commitment among the employees is considered to be the characteristic feature of the voluntary sector. As said earlier unlike other formal organizations employees at voluntary sector are ought to be driven by the voluntary spirit and interest rather than tangible benefits. To examine the job commitment of the

employees a number of questions, were posed to the respondents such as whether employees are interested to continue with the organizations despite various constraints such as low salary, unsatisfactory work conditions, lack of infrastructure, whether employees work beyond office hours, etc. Several such questions made the sub-index of job commitment.

Job involvement is considered as a means of enhancing productivity by way of promoting favorable work situations in which individual and organizational goals can be integrated (Argyris, 1957; McGregor, 1960, cited in Garain, 1998: 31). Studies have shown that job involvement enhances job satisfaction and in turn enhances productivity of the organization (Hall and Lawler, 1970). Table Nos. 4.16 and 4.17 display the prevalence of a fairly decent level of job commitment and job involvement among the NGO employees.

Table No. 4. 17: Job involvement among employees

Scores on Job involvement of Employees	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	2	5
Moderate	26	65
High	12	30
Total	40	100

Job involvement of employees has been observed on the basis of the responses to questions such as whether employees work beyond office hours, whether they are concerned with goal of the organization, whether they are concerned with professional satisfaction, etc. As indicated in Table 4.17, most of the NGOs (26) are at moderate level whereas 12 NGOs found in high category. Only 2 NGOs are figured in low category. This implies that grassroots NGOs employees have shown greater job involvement, which indeed is a positive factor for their organization.

Table No. 4.18: Involvement in other works and organizational activities

Scores on Employees' involvement in other works and organizational activities	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	0	0
Moderate	17	42.5
High	23	57.5
Total	40	100

Apart from their work involvement, efforts were made to know their involvement in other organizational activities (apart from their own). As it is evident from the above table not a single case is reported under low score category. About 17 (42.5%) NGOs are found to be in moderate score category whereas about 23 (57.5%) NGOs are found to be in the high score category. This makes us understand that there exists a better work and organizational involvement among the employees of the grassroots NGO.

Based on the scores obtained by NGOs on the indicators such as job commitment and job involvement a cumulative score table has been obtained.

Table 4.19: Cumulative Scores on Motivation

Scores on Employees level of motivation	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	6	15
Moderate	19	47.5
High	15	37.5
Total	40	100

As indicated in Table 4.19, cumulative scores index on motivation shows that a good section of the NGOs employees 15 (37.5%) and 19 (47.5%) have high and moderate levels of motivation respectively.

Table No. 4.20: Cross Tabulation Effectiveness Vs. Employee Motivation

Scores Effectiveness/ Motivation	High motivation	Low motivation	Total
Effective	11	1	12
Less effective	2	26	28
Total	13	27	40

Chi square value: 27.31 DF 1 Level of significance .05 and .01

The cross tabulation in Table 4.20 shows that figure in effectiveness is matched by high motivation and figure in less effective is matched by the low motivation. Conventionally employee motivation has been a strong predicator of organizational success and productivity. With little difference the present study corroborates the above view, even in the context of grassroots NGOs by observing a similar type of relationships between the two variables i.e., NGO effectiveness and employee motivation level. The relationship between NGO effectiveness and employee motivation is observed to be positive and significant. Thus, the hypothesis formulated relating these variables has been verified. This is a corroboration of the findings of the previous section where altruism and voluntarism of the employees has been emphasized. Grassroots level environmental workers equipped with the spirit of altruism and voluntarism are in all likelihood a highly motivated lot. Hence it could be said that NGOs are effective greatly because employees are highly motivated and this influences the over all achievement of the organization. NGO performance is expected to be excellent as NGO staff is often willing to work for exceptional hours even in a discomfort and risk environment (Brett, 1993: 297).

4.6 Prevailing Work Culture and Effectiveness

Work culture among the NGO employees has been operationally defined and measured in terms of (1) Employee absenteeism, (2) level of autonomy enjoyed by the staff, (3) level of co-operation among the staff, (4) superior-subordinate relations, (5) employees' concern for NGO's goal, etc.

Table No. 4. 21: Absenteeism among the NGO Employees

Scores on Absenteeism	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	11	27.5
Moderate	29	72.5
High	0	0
Total	40	100

As indicated in the above table low absenteeism is reported in case of 11 NGOs whereas moderate absenteeism is found among the employees of 29 NGOs. However, significantly indeed, there is not a single case of reported high absenteeism. This again can be attributed to the commitment and motivation to work for the organization and the commitment to the cause they are fighting for.

Table No. 4.22: Levels of Autonomy Enjoyed by NGO Employees

Scores on level of autonomy enjoyed by the employees	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	2	5
Moderate	26	65
High	12	30
Total	40	100

It is observed that in most cases of the staff members enjoy a fair amount of freedom from their higher authorities and were allowed to take certain decisions on routine matters as well. This implies that the functional structures of the grassroots NGOs are flexible, and there prevailed a good working environment.

Table No. 4.23: Levels of Co-operation among NGO Employees

Scores on Employees filling-in each others job	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	2	5
Moderate	16	40
High	22	55
Total	40	100

Level of co-operation among employees has been examined in terms of mutual understanding among the employees to fill in each other's job at the time of need. Our observation in this regard shows that most of the NGOs are found in moderate and high category while only about 2 (5%) NGOs are placed in low category.

Existing superior and subordinate relations among NGO staff is also considered an indicator to understand the prevailing work culture. This has been observed on the basis of responses to questions like if staff members of the concerned NGO meet the leadership, what is the frequency of their meetings, and vice versa.

A flexible system, where employees enjoy maximum freedom and where the higher authorities always have patience to listen to the subordinates result in effective functioning of the organization. With a view to examine prevailing superior-subordinate relationship in the organization, we collected the data relating to freedom enjoyed by the subordinate employees at different levels such as project implementation, freedom in field related matters and the nature and scope of resolving the differences that crop up in due course among staff members of the NGOs.

It is a common feature in an organization that differences surface among staff over different organizational as well as policy decisions. In the light of such perennial problems we made an attempt to know whether these things happen in regularity within the NGO sector as well. And subsequently attempt was made to know the ways through which NGOs sort out these differences.

Table No. 4. 24: Solving differences among the employees

Solving differences	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	0	0
Moderate	31	77.5
High	9	22.5
Total	40	100

As per the Table 4.24 NGOs have fared moderately well in solving the differences crept out among the members quite amicably. The study shows that an overwhelming majority of NGOs (31) are modest in their efforts in curbing the differences quite successfully. About 9 NGOs are placed in high category in terms of their flexibility in sorting out differences amicably. Significantly not a single NGO is found in the low category implying that NGOs are indeed sensitive in establishing precedence and a healthy atmosphere among the staff. This indeed shows the level of coordination and the determination to work for the organization collectively. This helps them to overcome the crisis as and when the organization confronts any. The organization's interests usually come above the individual interest.

Further, in an effort to know how the differences are sorted out, the study finds that whenever any difference surfaces within the organization, majority of NGOs prefer to solve it amicably by taking the majority view into consideration, 17.5% leave it to experts and the higher authorities.

Table No. 4.25: Hierarchical flexibility in the project implementation

Flexibility in project implementation	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	21	52.5
Moderate	12	30
High	7	17.5
Total	40	100

NGOs are mainly concerned with field activities i.e., to implement various projects/schemes etc. Hence, most of NGOs employees are exposed to field visits and fieldworks. It is believed that NGOs unlike other formal organization are less hierarchical and its employees enjoy relatively more freedom and flexibility than others. Since project remains as the major activity for NGOs, we have attempted to understand whether in the project execution organizational hierarchy matters a lot. In other words, our efforts are to examine whether subordinates enjoy optimum freedom and allowed to take decisions on their own as and when the need arises. As per our observation, in the project

implementation, subordinate employees do enjoy the freedom. However, take their higher authorities into confidence before taking any major decisions. According to Table 4.26, 21 (52.5%) NGOs are found in low category. It can be seen from the data that hierarchical decision-making is prevalent among NGOs. Subordinates are required to obtain permission from their immediate higher ups before carrying out activities and taking any decisions. For the moderate and high categories their number have been 12 (30%) and 7 (17.5%) respectively.

To interpret furthermore, 21 (52.5%) NGOs exercise restraint over project implementation by not giving a free hand to the project coordinators and investigators. They are answerable to their higher authorities from time to time. Similarly, employees hardly enjoy a free hand to deal with the field-related matters. In the same (21) NGOs for every reason they required to be accountable to their supervisors. This shows that steadily non-profit sector is getting bureaucratized and professionalized defying the conventional version that NGOs are not bureaucratized in true sense.

To a question how frequently employees meet their higher authorities, it is found (Table 4.26) that in case of 31 NGOs, employees meet frequently the leadership. Thus, there exists a better coordination between the superiors and subordinates. In case of 6 NGOs they meet occasionally and in case of only 3 NGOs, the employees rarely meet the leadership.

Table No. 4.26: Frequency of Employees' meeting with higher authority

Employees meeting with higher authority	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	3	7.5
Moderate	6	15
High	31	77.5
Total	40	100

Table No. 4.27: Employee's Concern about Organizational Goal

Scores on Employees' concern about their NGOs' goals	No. of NGO	Percentage
Low	14	35
Moderate	12	30
High	14	35
Total	40	100

Employee's concern about the goal of the organization is considered as a key indicator of the prevailing work culture of the NGOs. This has been empirically observed that about 14 (35%) NGOs figured in low score category and an equal number figured in the high score category. As many as 12 (30%) NGOs are found in the moderate score category.

Table No. 4.28: Cumulative Scores on Work Culture

Scores on work culture among Employees	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	3	7.5
Moderate	23	57.5
High	14	35
Total	40	100

But the cumulative score index suggests that majority of the NGOs 23 (57.5%) are found in moderate category in terms of the prevalent work culture. This shows the trend that there exists a moderately conducive work culture and work environment in these NGOs, which in turn contribute towards their effectiveness.

Table No. 4.29: Cross Tabulation Effectiveness Vs. Work Culture

Effectiveness/ Work culture	More Positive work culture	Less positive work culture	No. of NGOs
Effective	11	1	12
Less effective	4	24	28
Total	15	25	40

Chi square value: 21.44 D. F. 1 Level of Significance .05 .01

Organizational effectiveness has been found to be positively associated with commitment to the organization, job situations (job characteristics) and involvement in the immediate job (Garain, 1998: 279). Similarly, NGO effectiveness is found to be positively associated with NGO work culture (Table No. 4.29). Thus, the hypothesis positing positive association between the two variables stands verified. This suggests that developing and establishing a conducive work culture will invariably result in effective functioning of NGOs.

4.7 Sense of Purpose and Effectiveness

‘The good NGOs should have a clear mission that guides all its activities including its fieldwork, its fund raising techniques and its advocacy roles’ (Clark, 1991:42). This eases the conflict between different departments, creates greater unity and coherence, motivates the staff and above all contributes to achieve the objectives of the organization.

For an NGO or for that matter any organization ‘sense of purpose’ remains its core value. Employees’ sensitiveness and awareness about the mission and objectives of their organization contribute towards the fulfillment of its purpose. Ideally, a missionary zeal and a high sense of purpose among the employees is a prerequisite for NGOs. Therefore, it is desirable for an NGO, which fights for a cause like environment that its employees are committed and sensitive enough towards the environmental facts and issues around them.

For the present study, the variable, sense of purpose among the NGO employees has been operationally defined and measured in terms of (1) sensitivity of staff towards environmental issues, (2) environmental awareness among the staff, (3) Perception by NGO employees of the importance of environmental/ecological issues. It was

hypothesized that more an organization is clear in its sense of purpose; more it is likely to be effective.

Table No. 4.30: Sensitivity of staff to environmental issues

Scores on sensitivity of staff to environmental issues	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	7	17.5
Moderate	27	67.5
High	6	15
Total	40	100

NGOs follow different methods and strategies to sensitize their employees to fight for the cause they strive for. In the present sample only one NGO ensures that employees are sensitive to their mission prior to their recruitment. However, the employees are given inputs on environment related aspects and news after their recruitment to generate interest and sensitize them about the environmental cause. Our observation shows that most of the NGOs are not rigid on the issue of sensitivity of the employees during the time of recruitment. However, most of the NGOs sensitize their employees by sending them to the various training programmes, workshops, etc. and providing them exposure through conferences/seminars. Similarly they also organize in-house training programmes for their employees.

Table No. 4.31: Level of environmental awareness among employees

Level of environmental awareness among employees	No. of NGOs	Percentage
poor	15	40.5
modest level	19	51.3
high level	3	8.1
Total	37	100

As environmental NGOs, they perceive the environmental issues/problems in their own way. Their commitment towards this cause, and their perception of the issues relating environment were measured. NGO responses were obtained through questions like whether developmental activities take priority over environment, whether they prefer eco-friendly technologies to solve environmental problems, whether pristine ecology

must be tampered by development activities and whether eco-friendly developmental approach should be followed by involving people to protect the nature, etc. Taking the overall responses and score index into account, it is found that about 9 (22.5%) NGOs are in low score category, 27 (67.5%) and 4 (10%) NGOs are found in moderate and high score categories respectively.

Table No. 4.32: NGOs' perception about importance of environment/ecology

NGOs' perception on environment	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	9	22.5
Moderate	27	67.5
High	4	10
Total	40	100

Table 4.32 shows that NGO employees are more or less aware of the cause that their organizations strive for. Because a large number of NGOs, (27) are found at moderate level with regard to their perception on the very cause they are fighting for.

Table No. 4.33: Cross Tabulation Effectiveness Vs. Sense of Purpose

Level of Effectiveness	Clear sense of purpose	Unclear sense of purpose	Total
Effective	11	1	12
Less effective	7	21	28
Total	18	22	40

Chi Square value – 19.05, DF .1. Level of significance .05 and .01

The cross tabulation of data on these aspects has been displayed in the Table no. 4.33. It is evident from the table that almost all NGOs identified as effective with a lone exception are found to be having a clear sense of purpose. This clearly implies that NGOs which have ambiguous sense of purpose are in all likelihood less effective. The reverse argument also holds true that the environmental NGOs with clear sense of purpose are likely to be more effective. The chi square value of the given data further confirms this assumption. The chi square value is found very significant both at .01 and .05 level of probability and confirms our hypothesis.

The finding is in conformity with the literature. Because the non-profit organizations have a mission and specific purposes that address the collective interest of a particular group or groups and advocate some aspects of its public interest (Young and Steinberg, 1995, cited in Hammack, 2001).

4.8 Sustainability and Effectiveness

Schmale (1993:8) defines sustainability as the “continuation of benefit flows to people/communities at the grassroots level both after a development project or programme has been terminated and independent of the existence of an organization” Organizational survival (sustainability) can be seen as a success criterion. major impediment to the sustainability of any organization is an excessive concentration on any one item like revenue sources, objects of expense, assets, or liabilities (Minkoff, 1993).

In this study, sustainability forms one of the notable variables to study NGO effectiveness. Sustainability has been observed in two ways i.e., financial sustainability and organizational sustainability.

Table No. 4.34: Financial sustainability of NGOs

Financial Sustainability of NGOs	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	16	40
Moderate	15	37.5
High	9	22.5
Total	40	100

Financial sustainability of an NGO or for that matter to any organization, is a vital prerequisite to achieve the targets. There is a need to build self-reliance, which can be attained only when the organizations become financially self-sufficient (Jatotra 1987, cited in Sreen, 1995) In order to become financially sustainable NGOs mobilize resources in different ways. They try to avail projects in ongoing basis and encourage people who

can afford to contribute voluntarily either by cash or by kind. Based on their responses, it is observed that most of the NGOs face the resource/financial crunch. As per our observation about 16 NGOs are found to be in low category while 15 NGOs are in moderate category as far as their financial sustainability is concerned. About 9 NGOs have managed to score high as these enjoy a sound financial sustainability.

Table: 4.35: Participation of employees in organizational matters

Employees' Participation in organizational matters	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	14	35
Moderate	15	37.5
High	11	27.5
Total	40	100

An organization prospers when its employees actively participate in its activities thereby strengthened is the bond between the organization and its subjects. Employees' participation not only enhance the fellow feeling among them but also make them develop a sense of belongingness that contributes for the healthy and smooth functioning of the concerned organization. Hence, in the present study we consider employees' participation as an important component for the sustenance of the NGOs. In the present study, it is observed that employees' participation in organizational aspects is not too encouraging. About 14 NGOs are found in the low score category when for the moderate category the number of NGOs observed is 15. Only 11 NGOs are found in the high score category where employees do play an active role in putting the organizational matters in order.

Table No. 4.36: Organizational sustainability of NGOs

Scores on Organizational Sustainability	No. NGOs	Percentage
Low	28	70
Moderate	8	20
High	4	10
Total	40	100

Organizational sustainability has been defined in terms of employees participation in organizational matters. The data manifested in the Table 4.36 shows that as many as 28 NGOs are found in the low score category implying that their sustenance in organizational resources is very weak. Therefore, they need to look after this aspect and find out the ways and strategies to strengthen their organizations. In the moderate score category only about 8 NGOs are figured where as in high category their number slipped down to 4.

Table No. 4.37: Cumulative Score Table on Sustainability

Cumulative Score status of NGOs on sustainability	No. of NGOs	Percentage
Low	19	47.5
Moderate	14	35
High	7	17.5
Total	40	100

Cumulative score table on sustainability of NGOs (4.37) shows that majority of NGOs are found at low score category where as 14 NGOs are found in moderate score category and 7 NGOs in high score category. This implies that a sizable section of the NGOs are vulnerable to sustainability issue. This raises doubts over their survival in the long run.

Table No 4.38: Cross tabulation of Effectiveness and Sustainability

Level of effectiveness	High sustainability	Low sustainability	Total
Effective	10	3	12
Ineffective	6	21	28
Total	16	24	40

Chi-square value: 10.93 DF 1, Level of significance .05 and .01

Chi square value displayed in Table 4.38 shows that there exists a significant relationship between NGO effectiveness and their sustainability. The value is significant both at .05 and .01 level. This implies that sustainability is an important predicator of NGO effectiveness. This confirms our hypothesis that more the organization is sustainable better is their effectiveness. Therefore, NGOs at grassroots level should emphasize on the sustenance of their organizations and find the ways to enhance their efforts that can contribute towards their survival as an organization and also to become a successful organization.

4.9 Accountability and Effectiveness

The non-profit literature has begun to address the accountability issue only recently. The literature on NGO accountability by and large is normative and has been found to be non-empirical. The discussion on accountability is still at a generic level NGO accountability can be understood in a variety of ways like NGOs relationships with donor, governments, relationship between leadership and members of the organization, local communities, etc. (Ospina, Diaz and Sullivan, 2002:8). The issue has become pervasive, as NGOs are dependent on donors, volunteers, staff members, and for the smooth and effective functioning they have to maintain legitimacy with these collectivities.

Brook's (1995) criteria help defining accountability in NGO sector. According to him following questions can help understanding whether accountability relationship exists in a given situation. (i) Who is giving the account (ii) To whom the account is given (iii) For what action or job is the account given (iv) How is the account given (v) When is the account to be given (vi) What happens if the account is unsatisfactory (cited in Ospina, Diaz and Sullivan, 2002:13-15).

The accountability can be defined as the process of holding actors responsible for actions. It is a means by which individuals and organizations report to a recognized authority and are held responsible for their actions. It can be seen as an obligation for an

organization or person who manages resources to answer or report to others in a transparent manner. This may include higher-level authorities, donors or the public at large. The organizations need to share the information about their activities.

Highlighting on member accountability, Bava (1997:269) says that when member accountability is high, the benefits and fruits of development accruing to members will also be of high order. It is hinting at a direct and positive correlation between member accountability of NGOs and their efficient performance at the development front (Bava 1997: 269). It can also be argued that when members are empowered, they are motivated to work hard and more sincerely.

The variable accountability for the present study comprises of two aspects i.e., accountability to donors and accountability to the members of the NGO. While the accountability to donors has been examined from the data on NGOs' relations with donor agencies, accountability to members has been observed from the frequency of meetings, and the frequency of interactions members have with the head of the NGO, etc.

Table No. 4.39: Accountability

Scores	To the Members (No. of NGOs)	To the funding Agency (No. of NGOs)
High	25	24
Low	15	16
Total	40	40

Table 4.39 indicates that majority of NGOs are accountable to their donor agencies. 18 NGOs fall at high category whereas 16 NGOs are found in moderate category and 6 NGOs are found in the low category on the issue of financial accountability.

Table: 4.40: Cross tabulation of Effectiveness and Accountability

Level of effectiveness	High accountability	Low accountability	Total
Effective	12	3	12
Ineffective	4	21	28
Total	16	24	40

Chi-square Value: 8.74 DF 1, Level of significance .05 and .01

The study observes that there lies a significant relationship between NGO accountability and NGO effectiveness. The chi square value further proves our research hypothesis that accountability and effectiveness are significantly related to each other. This finding makes us to assume that accountability is an influencing factor for NGO effectiveness. And it should be used as a predicator of the effective functioning of NGOs.

4.10 Summing up

With regard to the major independent variable, NGO approaches of functioning, we have conclusively found that no grassroots NGO practices either top-down or bottom-up approach exclusively. Only 5 out of 40 NGOs were found to be practicing exclusively top-down oriented practices with minor variations /exceptions. And of the rest 35 NGOs about 10 were found to be practicing high intensive bottom-up practices again with minor variations. Thus no grassroots NGOs could be completely top-down oriented in practice, like some of the leading International NGOs, which necessarily function with the consent and co-operation of the foreign governments and deliver the aid material/projects sent by their governments. Similarly no grassroots NGOs could be functioning exclusively by bottom-up practices in developing countries as assistance/directives from local governments become inevitable in some form or the other for it controls the infrastructure and public distribution machinery.

The other major finding of the paper is the association between NGO effectiveness and their reward system. Despite the association between these two

variables, there emerged two explanatory concepts such as the spirit of altruism and voluntarism among the grassroots NGO workers. The subsequent findings like positive association (may not be of very high degree) of NGO effectiveness with motivation, work culture and sense of purpose among the NGO employees are in order and in conformity with the spirit of voluntarism and altruism. Because when equipped with the spirit of altruism and voluntarism these grassroots level workers are also found to be a highly motivated lot who understand their jobs and perform their jobs with a sense of purpose.

Similarly, the effectiveness of NGOs is also positively associated with sustainability and accountability of NGOs.

The study however could not establish the correlation between independent variables. Had it been a purely quantitative exercise the independent variables could have shown inter-correlation as well. But the descriptive nature of our study and the small size of the sample did not allow to draw such conclusions which may very well be the limitation of the nature of this study.

Chapter V

Qualitative Probing – Case Studies

This chapter discusses the strategies and functions of two NGOs selected for case studies to examine certain qualitative aspects of attributes of the NGO effectiveness. It discusses the context in which these NGOs have emerged and how they have been mobilizing the people and winning their trust and confidence in the region of their operation. In the course of the discussion brought are the various issues of relevance such as strategy formation, sustenance, leadership, corruption, and social factors affecting the functioning of NGOs.

GRAM VIKAS

5.1 A Brief Introduction

Gram Vikas (GV), which literally meaning village development, a grassroots NGO devoted to environmental, welfare, and rural development issues, came into existence in the early 1970s. A group of volunteers, who had come from Madras to provide relief to the cyclone victims of coastal Orissa decided to stay back and continue to work for the poor. In course of time, they formed a voluntary association and made it a platform to address the plight of the people of the southern region. On the invitation of the then chief minister Biswanath Das who had met GV founder Joe Madiath during the latter's cycle tour of the country, GV was formally registered under Society Registration Act (1860) in 1979. Over the last 20 years, the organization has experienced a considerable growth. Its capacity building mechanism has expanded and more importantly, it has carved out a niche by winning over the trust and confidence of the people of the tribal dominated areas of Orissa.

At the initial stage, the organization had to overcome many bottlenecks. Being strangers to the region, the students' group found it difficult to win the confidence and support of the local people. There were problems relating to language, ethnic issues and financial resources. But due to the sheer commitment and determination of the group headed by Joe Madiath, their leader who still continues to be the chief of the organization, managed to overcome these problems. During its incipient phase, its thrust area was tribal health. Consequently, it took up environmental and ecological issues as its thrust area and decided to work 'with the people' in a bid to generate consciousness and responsiveness among them.

5.2 Coverage

From five villages in Ganjam and Bargarh districts in 1992, GV today spreads over to 20,000 families in 500 villages in 12 districts in the hinterlands of Orissa (The Week 2002: 16). In five districts of Orissa namely, Ganjam, Koraput, Mayurbanj, Phulbani and Kalahandi, it has reached out a large number of people. The target groups of GV consist of tribals, dalits, and other economically backward communities of Orissa. Tribal constitute nearly 80% of the target population of GV. The three tribes that GV very closely works with are Khonds, Sauras, and Santals. Other target groups are poorer sections of schedule caste and other castes, small and marginal farmers and landless laborers (GV Annual Report 1998-99). It has set the target to reaching out 1% of the Orissa's total population, what they call it 'critical mass'.

5.3 Structure of GV

GV has staff strength of 280 of which women constitute 20% of the workforce. There are nearly 400 village level volunteers consisting of *gaonsathi*, *balwadi* mother, village health workers, etc. About 75% of the staff members are fieldworkers.

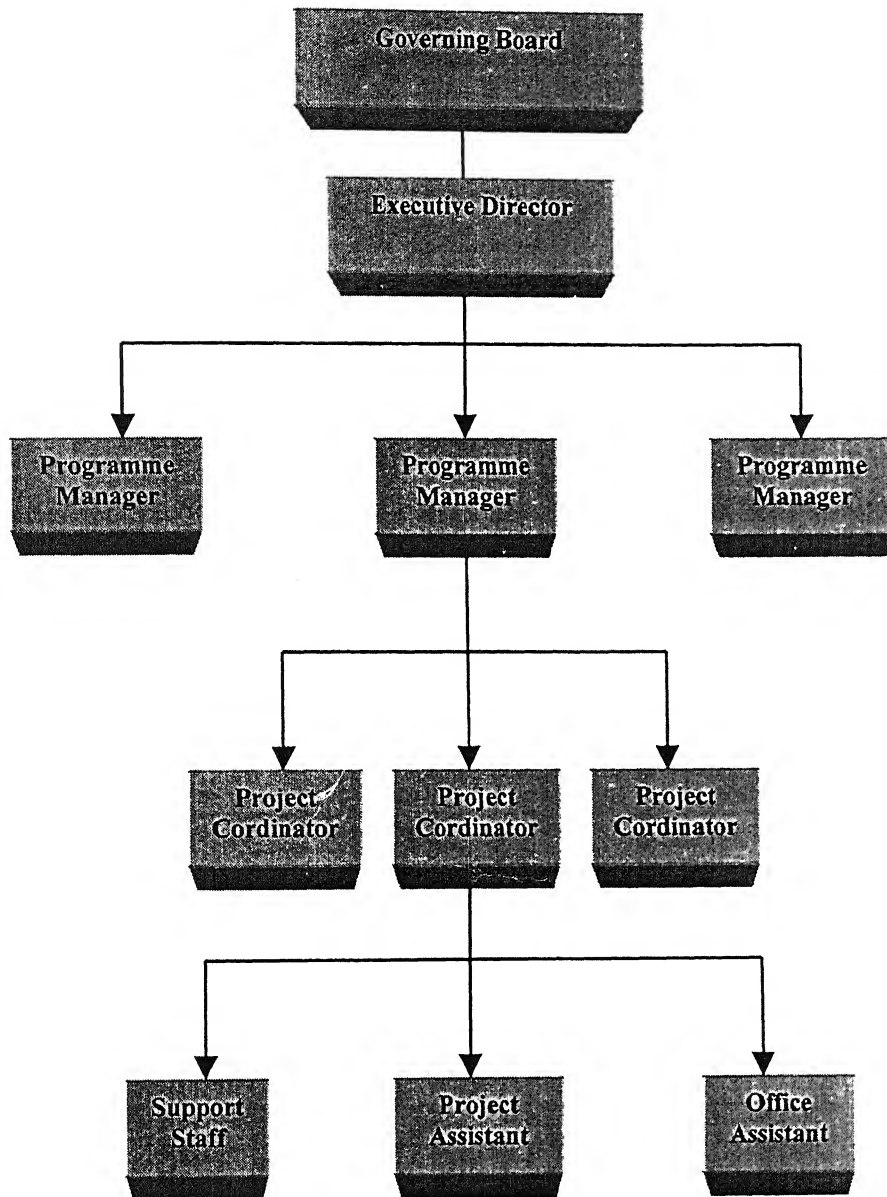


Figure 5.1: Organizational Structure GV

As shown in Figure 5.1, there exists four power clusters in the organization. The highest decision-making body - the governing body consists of the director and some eminent personalities from different developmental fields.

At functional level, the highest body comprises of the director and the program managers of various projects undertaken by the GV. The next tier of the organizational hierarchy consists of project coordinators. Each project coordinator is assisted by a number of project assistants. Similarly, *villagesathis* (*village volunteers*) to assist project assistants. While *villagesathi* is accountable to the project assistant, the project assistant remains accountable to the project coordinator and the project coordinator in turn is accountable to the project managers. Despite this hierarchical setup, all employees are encouraged to directly approach the higher authorities.

Fig. 5.2 displays the official (administrative office set up) of the organization. GV head office is located in Mahuda of Berahampur that controls the overall activities of GV. Project offices have been set up at district level for the smooth implementation of projects. Each project office has some divisional offices at block level. And there are village offices run by village volunteers who keep providing progress of the GV activities to the high offices.

GV functions smoothly due to its openness. It tries to maintain harmony within the organization by frequently holding meetings and organizing informal get-togethers.

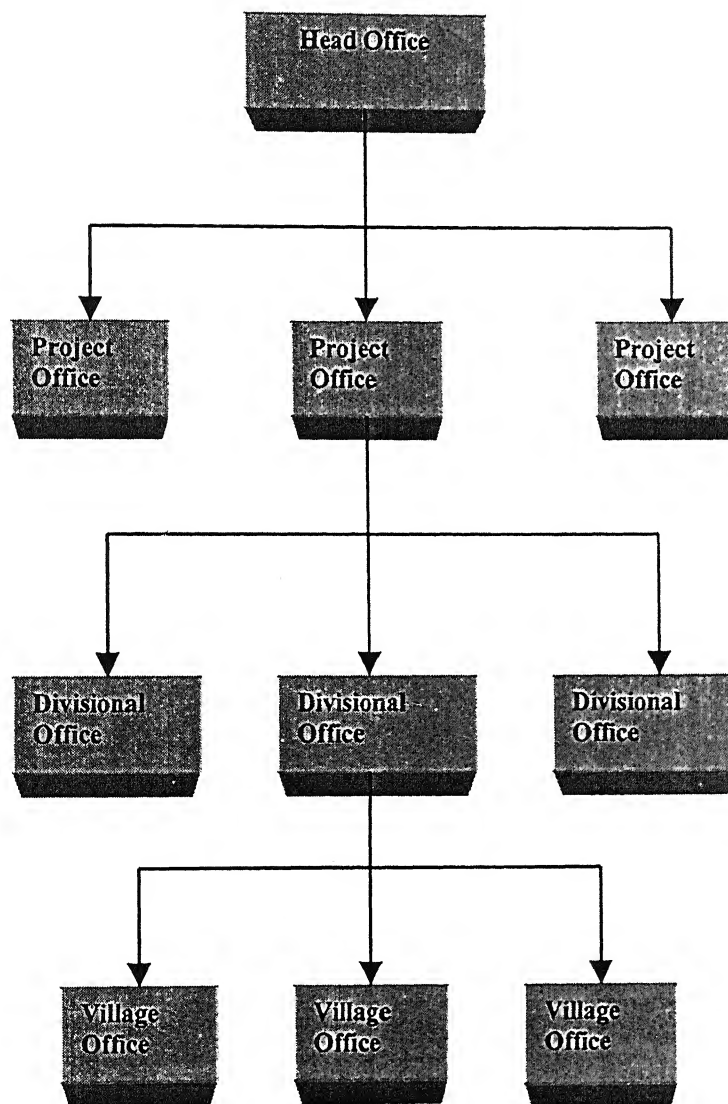


Figure No. 5. 2: Project Administrative office Set-up

All the employees of GV irrespective of their positions participate in the discussions and deliberations to arrive at a solution. Various mechanisms and modalities are chalked out after a thorough discussion of the particular problem. GV also entertains local suggestions in arriving at a solution to the project related problems. They hold informal discussions on various issues among each other at dinnertime, as most of the GV employees prefer common dining.

5.4 Binding Element

GV feels that it is essential to pick up a thrust area to be a binding element for its activities. Other issues can rally around this thrust area. Considering popular issues in rural areas such as drinking water, health, sanitation, etc., GV in its first initiative selected health as its binding element. Later it shifted to rural development and natural resource management. Because it believes that these issues bring people together irrespective of caste, class, gender, etc. Before selecting a thrust area for its activities, GV consults local experts, local heads, experts of the concerned fields from outside besides getting feedback from its own staff and members. After considering local situations, GV takes a decision on the binding element. According to a GV functionary 'our binding element is based on a consensus approach'.

Today, GV has five thrust areas such as health, livelihood, environment, people's governance, and rural development. Currently GV has undertaken two integrated projects namely Rural Health and Environment Programme (RHEP), covering 11 districts and it has an out reach to 4297 households in 51 villages (Annual Report: 1999-2000).

5.5 Social Factor

Heterogeneous social composition in a project site sometimes may create hindrances for the smooth functioning of projects due to hostility between different groups. Bearing this assumption in mind, we found that in the case of GV, this has not

created an acute problem in implementing the projects. The binding element that appeals to everybody, perhaps, has played a contributory role in down playing the social hurdles. Moreover, as GV's areas of operation are predominately concentrated on tribal areas, the social factor hardly has had any detrimental effect in implementing projects, as these areas by and large are homogenous and cohesive. However, there were occasions where it has had to face the wrath of social divisions. Narrating an incident a GV Project coordinator says:

In 1995, a *dalit* was passing by in Dengapadar village of Ganjam district by bicycle. On the way he was stopped by the people of higher castes and he was ostracized in that village as he was not supposed to pass through that road which was meant for the higher caste. The incident had divided people of the area on caste lines. GV considered this case as the violation of one's basic rights. By the efforts of GV, slowly and steadily social harmony was restored in the area, and there is hardly any hatred and enmity prevalent in the area.

Another problem that GV had to face was a rumor that GV is a Christian organization, which is targeting tribals for conversion. GV's secular credentials were questioned. But meticulous and continuous efforts by GV personnel help convincing the people about the objectives of GV. Finally, GV managed to overcome this crisis, and won back the trust, confidence of the people cutting across their socio-religious backgrounds.

GV had adopted an interactive participatory method to mitigate these kinds of social tensions. It constantly and continually keeps trying to reach out to people, talk to them, work with them, and convince them. Though it is a slow and gradual process; GV has been able to establish a social harmony in the areas of its operation. Another strategy that GV had employed is to bring women into the mainstream. The binding elements such as water, health, etc. primarily concern women. It is women who used to travel a long distance to fetch the water. Similarly, with regard to the prohibition issue, the women are the worst sufferers. Therefore, the strategy to empower women augured well for GV. There was overwhelming support from women and they actively participated in large numbers in GV's developmental programmes. And this not only bridged the social

gap but also brought about unity in the villages. As a GV functionary says 'women's participation brings about an added advantage. Seeing the enthusiasm and interest of their female counterpart men also joined in'. Participation of women also downplayed the political factor (political factionalism/groupism). To cite an example- in Mohukhand village of Balangir district of Orissa, GV's intervention in implementing development projects failed. Every time it took the initiative, it was hampered by political factionalism and infighting. Then GV approached the women of the village to facilitate and help implementing the programmes. Then women of the village came together. Issues such as sanitation, water, etc. paid the dividends and helped in uniting the people. In the end, political tussle was kept aside where everybody came together and eventually a new platform emerged.

5.6 Political Factors

Do NGOs establish linkages with political parties? Is it essential for them? Doesn't it hamper their activities? We attempted to examine these empirically. It is found that more like a boon than a bane for NGOs. Political linkages become an added advantage for NGOs. There are occasions when GV had to seek political intervention to implement their projects. For example, to implement *Indira Awas Yojna* (a housing programme), it was compelled to approach some influential politicians of the region as the project was affected by some vested interest groups. In such circumstances, GV even had to explore the support and intervention from the higher state machinery. For instance, there were occasions when GV had sought the intervention from the chief minister of Orissa to break the bureaucratic bottlenecks and to speed up the bureaucratic procedures to faster implementation of its development projects.

When asked whether NGOs should have political linkages, the functionaries of GV pointed out in affirmative but said it should be confined to their development activities only. They argued that if the political support really helps in achieving the objectives of NGOs, then there is nothing wrong in accepting help and favors from them. After all, it was for the benefit of the people and the development of the region that they

seek help from the political leadership. Over the years GV has managed to establish good rapport with the political circles across party lines. Sometimes these connections help GV to overcome bureaucratic stalemates and also implementing projects. However, the GV personnel were categorical that they do not have any political affiliation with any particular political party.

5.7 GV Projects: Strategy with a Difference

To achieve its objectives, GV has outlined its strategies and methods. Firstly, it places emphasis on the spread of education and awareness among the local people. Secondly, it tries to ensure community participation and gender equality in implementing programmes. Thirdly, it emphasizes building of local institutions. Fourthly, it considers local culture and ethos when implements its programmes. Fifthly, it takes up income generating activities to make it self-sufficient; finally, promote and support village agro-based activities and industries.

GV has undertaken a collaborative strategy with the local people in implementing projects. In every project, people are encouraged not only to participate but also to share the responsibilities. The beneficiaries contribute in cash or kind by making the project a joint venture. For example, in GV's housing and building programme such as construction of houses, schools, cattle sheds, etc. GV provides raw materials such as cement, iron, wood, bamboo, etc. and also technical expertise while the labor force was borne by the people.

Disclosing its strategy, a GV program coordinator said that GV forms various village committees with equal representation of men and women to sustain programs at village levels. For example, each family needs to contribute one thousand rupees towards endowment a fund under ITDP program. Money collected is kept for the maintenance of the programmes carried out by GV in that particular village.

Amongst other project initiatives, GV's Rural Health and Environment Programs (RHEP) has been able to meet its three broad objectives apart from establishing

ecological balance and improving the threshold level of quality of life in the region. The three objectives that have been achieved in the course of the implementation of this project are 1. Ensuring people's motivation 2. Strengthening village based organizations iii. Sharing of costs. Some of the major initiatives under this program have been discussed below.

5.8 Balwadi Center

Balwadi centers (clichés) are set up in villages not only to prevent malnutrition and undernourishment among children but also in preparing them for formal schooling in the midst of natural setting. This is very much essential in rural tribal settings as both men and women are engaged in earning their livelihood and find little time to look after their children during daytime. Therefore, GV has taken initiatives to enroll children between the age group of 6 months to 6 years in these centers. *Balwadi* mothers are appointed by the village committees in consultation with GV look after these children. The responsibilities of the *balwadi* mothers include cleaning and bathing the children, feeding mid-day meal and teaching alphabets, songs, etc. Each household contributes according to its capacity towards the smooth functioning of the centers. GV arranges exposure and training programmes for *balwadi* mothers regularly. On occasions, *balwadi* children, their mothers along with *balwadi* mothers participate in awareness raising programmes organized by GV. They also periodically perform issue based cultural activities.

5.9 Natural Resource Development

After the outbreak of devastating cyclone in 1998 in Orissa, GV decided to focus on natural resources development initiatives such as restoration of forests, diversifying agriculture, etc. in a big way. Through multicultural plantation involving the mixture of fuel, fodder, fruit and timber yielding species, it encourages indigenous knowledge bases and makes use of local resources. Some selective commercial plantations such as cashew, coconut, etc, were also promoted to enhance the livelihood of the rural people. People at

the rural areas were trained to choose appropriate crop for the specific soil and encouraged to develop water resources and water harvesting.

5.10 Development of Water Bodies

Gram Vikas with people's support dig ponds. A number of water reservoirs such as ponds, tanks as well as other water harvesting and water diversion structures have been undertaken under post cyclone rehabilitation. These initiatives not only have provided income in the short term but also enabled the development of community infrastructure with people's participation and involvement. GV's four-kilometer long irrigation channel in Dambhapur village of Karadasing has helped to bring water from a perennial stream on the mountains to low lying agricultural lands. Three earthen dams in Kanda Banta, Talatalia and Dhanapaju villages of Rudhapadar area have also been undertaken.

5.11 Community Forestry

GV's intervention in community forestry began in 1985. Village committees entrusted responsibilities on various activities including identification of species, plantation process, maintenance of forests, sharing of benefits and forest protection. The predominant species grown include cashew, mango and guava. The following table displays the coverage of this program.

Table 5.1 Community forestry program of GV

Project	No. of villages	Area (acres)
Kerandimal	10	31
Konipur	1	40
Rudhapadar	10	90
Tumba	4	34
Total	25	195

Source: (GV Annual Report: 1999-2000: 25)

5.12 Horticulture

Kitchen gardens and horticulture have gained popularity in several villages. This has a direct relation to the issue of food security and nutritional intake in the villages. Gram Vikas staff motivate villagers to plant fruit bearing and other trees, as well as develop small vegetable patches on backyards or on other land near the house. This caters to the households needs on a regular basis. Cashew plantation has become commercially viable initiative for GV. The Table 5.2 presents GV's efforts in this regard in the year 1999.

Table 5.2 GV's efforts to promote horticulture

Project Area	No. of villages	No. of beneficiaries
Kerandimal	13	376
Thuamul Rampur	14	372
Koinpur	8	160
Rudhapadar	15	341
Tumba	7	27
Karadasing	16	229
Total	73	1505

Source: (GV Annual Report: 1999-2000: 26)

5.13 Compost Tanks/Pits

GV has consistently propagated the use of organic manure in conjunction with appropriate chemical fertilizers. The villagers are motivated to construct, maintain and use compost tanks. Since the raw materials are available in plenty in villages, this is considered as a viable idea. Emphasis was on digging compost pits at the back of houses, where all kitchen and organic wastes can be put in. A total of 1500 pits have been dug during the year 1998-99.

Table 5.3 GV's efforts construct compost tanks/pits

Project area	No. of tanks constructed	No. of tanks in use
Kerandimal	50	40
Th. Rampur	223	51
Koinpur	36	36
Rudhapadar	65	30
Karadasing	30	30
Total	404	187

Source: (GV Annual Report: 1998-99:20)

5.14 Biogas

GV has undertaken several environment friendly livelihood programmes to promote the quality of life of the villagers. Setting up of Biogas plants is one such programme. Biogas is the most environment friendly alternative fuel in rural areas. It reduces the drudgery of women, who otherwise would have to spend a large part of their day in collecting twigs and leaves from rapidly denuding forest areas. Biogas, in addition to meeting fuel requirements, is also used for lighting purposes. The slurry obtained from the biogas plant is a valuable and rich fertilizer, and is used in kitchen gardens and agriculture.

5.15 Mobilization of People

‘To mobilize people for a cause, first and foremost thing is to make them aware about the concerned issue’ says a project coordinator of GV. GV feels that to overcome the exploitation of moneylenders, which is still in practice, people should create their own corpus fund and from this corpus they can obtain loan at the time of need. With this objective, GV took the initiative and persuaded villagers to save money in the corpus according to their capacity. GV with its village volunteers explained and encouraged the people to participate in this micro finance effort, which in turn can empower and make them financially sustainable. GV believes that women’s active participation in this

scheme can bring the difference, as it firmly believes that women can manage to save some money by guarding the household expenditures. Hence the responsibility was thrust upon mothers to save the required amount and build the corpus fund.

5.16 Corpus Fund

As mentioned earlier, GV has formed a corpus fund in a village to meet any immediate financial crisis. For building a corpus fund, GV had set following terms and conditions.

The village community must ensure participation of all households in the village. For this village community holds the evening meetings frequently. A GV representative is deputed to explain the importance of this scheme. On an average, each household has to contribute one thousand rupees towards village corpus fund. It is up to community to decide how to compensate poor households who cannot afford to contribute the fixed amount. While the corpus remains untouched, the interest accrued from it is utilized for maintenance of village sanitation and extension of similar services in the village. Besides, the household contribution to corpus fund, the corpus amount is also generated from other sources such as individual contribution, returns from community assets i.e., village pond, forests, etc. The corpus fund is deposited in the bank. Two members of the executive committee of the village and executive director of GV are the joint signatories to the account (GV Annual report 1998-99: 38-39).

5.17 Group Savings

GV also promotes community savings. Under this programme, a group of five to fifteen villagers save an affordable amount regularly. The saved amount is invested in the nearest post office and is used for development of the village. Interestingly, villagers themselves maintain the records and files without the assistance from GV. However, GV provides all the possible assistance as and when required by the villagers.

5.18 Formation of Trusts

Apart from its corpus fund, GV has formed five trusts to look after the financial needs. These trusts have been formed with a view to expanding the outreach of the programmes implemented by Gram Vikas in an independent and effective manner. The trusts function as autonomous entities. These trusts are:

1. Habitat Trust
2. GV Health and Education Trust
3. GV Rural Development Trust
4. GV Tribal Development Trust

Gram Vikas Trust

While habitat trust looks after the housing and constructions of GV, rural health and sanitation issues are addressed by its Health and Education Trust. Rural Development Trust caters to the GV's rural programmes. Issues relating to tribal development were supported by the tribal Development trust. Gram Vikas trust helps meet to financial emergency situation.

5.19 Corruption Issues

Despite the claim that they are non-profit and voluntary, the life style of the top officials of NGOs make others to suspect that this sector is slowly and steadily turning to be a profit-making sector. Castigating the misuse of funds by the NGOs, Ray (1996: 3161) says that more than 90 per cent of the NGOs depend on foreign funds. They hardly generate resources from other sources of income. Just to keep their defunct organization alive, they kept on raising money by pushing them as 'professional beggars'. If poverty was big business in 1980s voluntarism is big business in 1990s, says Ray.

The rapid growth of NGOs, availability of funds from different funding agencies, corruption in NGO sector has further made NGOs vulnerable. Eventually, this makes NGOs complacent and over dependent, which slowly and steadily affect the effective functioning of NGOs. We made an attempt to know how and why this problem is getting entrenched in this sector. As a functionary points out, it so happens that in the process of

project implementation, NGOs have to confront many power holders and vested interest groups. In order to make them happy, NGOs may get involved in the practice of bribery to get their things done. According to a functionary of GV, 'sometimes social factors i.e., caste, local headmen etc, create problems. And to appease these, NGOs are forced to various unfair means. In these cases, NGOs succumb to pressure and indulge in appeasing these people'. According to another functionary 'to survive NGOs do need projects at regular intervals. And to get the projects from the donor agencies, they follow appeasement strategies including paying the bribe'. It is further observed from the discussion with NGO personnel that to get hold of huge projects, they even get involved in preparing glossy reports with tall claims. Some even do not hesitate to take the help of influential, middlemen to obtain the projects, winning favors, etc.

5.20 Leadership Issues

Leadership has played a crucial role in the growth and consolidation of GV. During its incipient phase the head of GV Joe Madiath had to take many courageous and challenging steps to build this organization. Praising the leadership of GV, The Week (2002:16) writes, "Every villager has a full crop of vegetables or flowers. There is plenty of water, clean sanitary facilities, and a school, thanks to Gram Vikas and its rural health and environment programme (RHEP)". Joe as he popularly known among the staff was instrumental in generating resources from various sources from India and abroad which has made GV financially self-sufficient. Describing the dynamism of GV leadership, a project coordinator of Thuamul Rampur describes an event:

A group of villagers from Thuamul Rampur project area went to the Director with a proposal to carry out a project on their own with support from GV. The director promptly accepted and sent a team to the site to do the inspection and find out the feasibility. Even though team's report was not so enthusiastic, the director paid frequent visits to the area, and at last, the project was sanctioned. This helped building the trust between GV leadership and the local community. When asked why do you admire your leader, a project coordinator says we know that our job is not secured. Despite this our leader inspires us and repeated assurance from the director on livelihood make us motivated for the organization and its activities. Referring to the leadership's dynamism, another project coordinator recalled, "there was some news in the local newspaper that some areas of Thuarampur project reeling under draught like situation and facing acute water problem.

Seeing this news, our director rushed to the area, met village community, pachayats and chalked out the strategy to overcome this problem.

The dynamic leadership and the commitment to people's development has fetched him many recognition and rewards. He was awarded Dr. K S Rao Memorial National Award 1998 for outstanding Lifetime Contribution to the Development of New and Renewable Sources of Energy presented by Solar Energy Society of India.

SAMBANDH

5.21 A brief introduction

Sambandh, which literally means 'relationship', grew out of the initiatives taken by some young social scientists. Their main aim was to tap the talents of youth in constructive and innovative ways. It was officially registered in 1992 though it was born in 1989. With a vision of creating an ecologically sustainable community having access to resources vis-à-vis socio-economic-political decision-making process, Sambandh has been working towards these objectives. Among the objectives, creating people's organizations to ensure sustainability, enhance ecological consciousness along with cultural identities of the people and increase their economic self-reliance tops the priority list. It continues to search for committed, talented youths to be active in uplifting the plight of the downtrodden. Because Sambandh believes that young, innovative minds alone can help in achieving its objectives. It undertakes various programmes to identify and select young volunteers through orientation cum training programmes, reflection workshops, etc.

As evident in Fig. 5.3 Samandh acts in a decentralized manner. District offices keep sending the progress of the projects to the head office located at Bhubaneswar, the state's capital. There are divisional offices that look after Sambandh's work at block levels. Each divisional office has several village development corporation which are primarily responsible to ensure people's participation in its programs. These bodies are responsible to form self-help groups both for men and women to look after the projects implemented in that village.

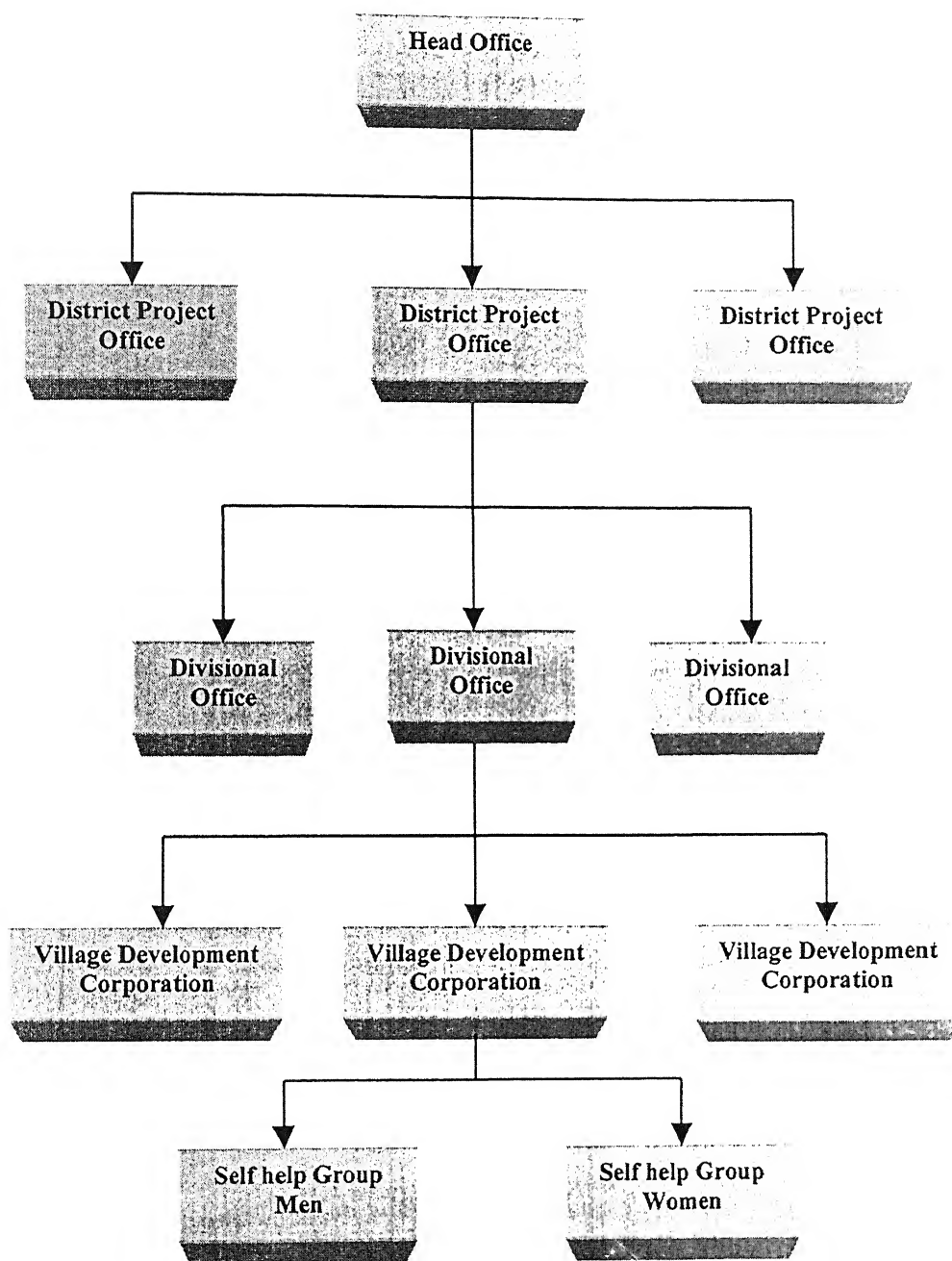


Figure No. 5.3: Project Administrative Set-up of Sambandh

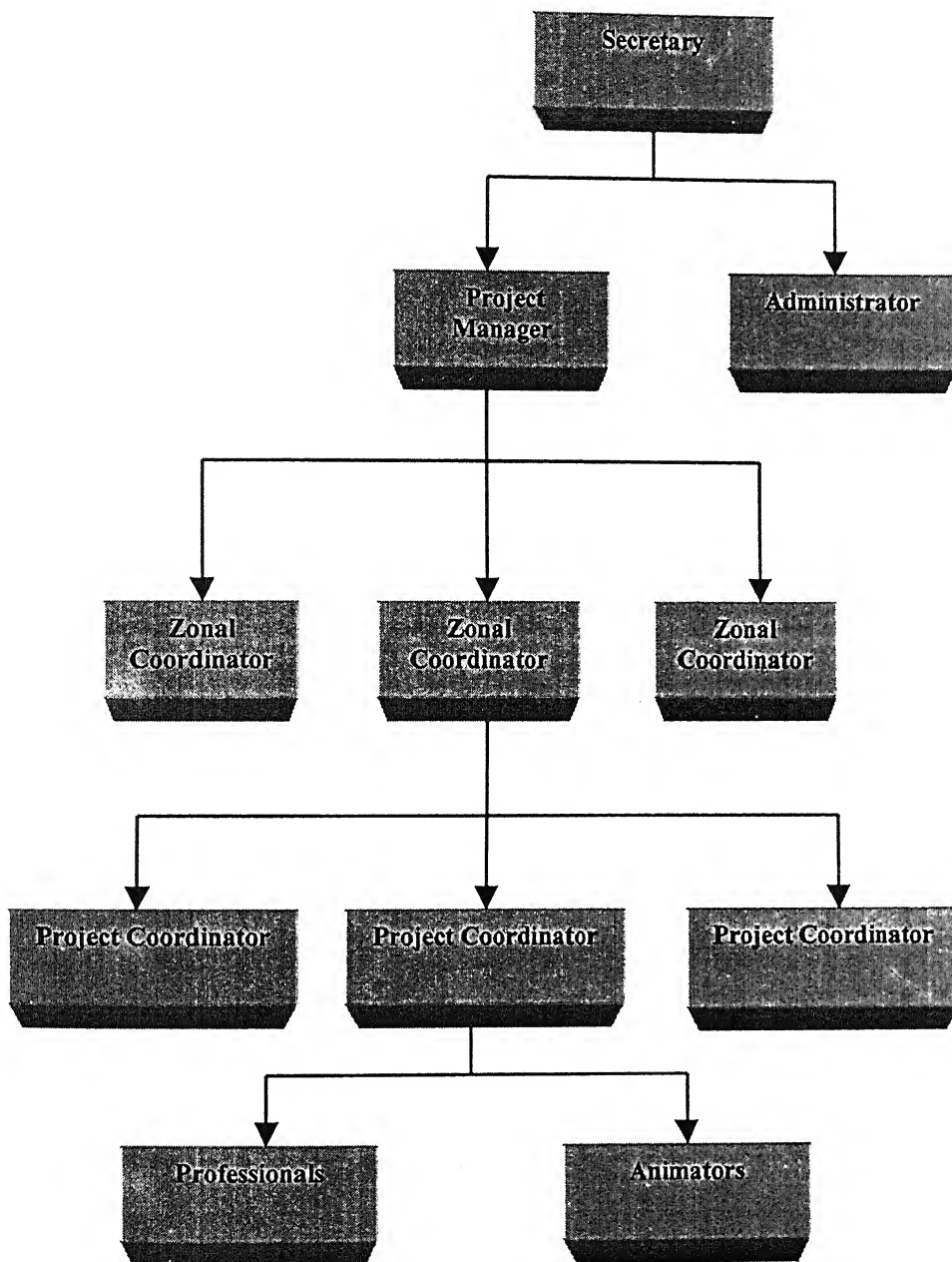


Figure No. 5.4: Operational structure of Sambandh for project implementation

As we see in the Figure 5. 4 Sambandh's General secretary is the highest authority in approving and implementing the projects. In the field, project manager and zonal coordinators are responsible for the project implementation. However, they remain accountable to the General Secretary. Under a project manager a number of zonal coordinators look after the project. A number of project coordinators works under the supervision of a zonal coordinator. And a project coordinator takes the help of professionals and animators for the smooth execution of the project.

5.23 Programmes Initiated by Sambandh

Amongst other issues, Sambandh highlights environmental issues by giving particular emphasis on Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques. PRA deals with villagers and ensure their participation. It combines three activities i.e., investigation, education and action and, permeates a participatory learning process. It is a methodological device that enables local people to share, analyze and interpret their knowledge, experience and problems, which in turn helps in drawing out an effective plan out and decision making procedure. This method helps empowering local people, grooming PRA practitioners and above all ensures that rural people are aware of their responsibilities. This in turn enthuses them not to shirk away from their primary responsibility. Deploying this method, Sambandh has managed to establish good rapport with the people at their project sites. It has also mustered their support for the project implementation and maintenance.

Another noteworthy programme initiated by Sambandh is called *Anubhav* (Realization). The primary focus of the project was to create awareness among the people. This project is undertaken in villages of Chandbali block of Bhadrak district. This area falls in the coastal plains of Bay of Bengal, which is an ecologically sensitive forest region of mangroves close to Bhitarkanika and Dangmal. The degradation of mangroves due to the monopoly of fishing merchants threatens the ecological health of the region. Sambandh along with like-minded organizations and people has started a sustained campaign against this development. Under its ecological programmes, it has undertaken

various plantations programmes and created many herbal gardens in villages. It has provided trainings to selected rural people who have shown interest to identify rare medicinal plants and preserve them. Financial incentives are given to them and they are also taken to various exposure trips. Commenting on its approach, a zonal coordinator says:

the organization firmly believes in bottom-up approach. Sambadh believes that people's participation at different levels is necessary for the smooth and effective functioning of its projects. People should understand, define and analyze their problems. For this, mobilization of the local resources is the key.

5.24 Resource Generation

Though Sambandh has taken certain initiatives to generate resources on its own, it still largely depends on external funding. Let us discuss about the initiatives undertaken by Sambandh in mobilizing resources.

1. **Herbal Garden Scheme:** Through its herbal garden scheme, it prepares herbal medicines and thus generates revenue. It publishes books on herbal medicines and sells them in the markets too.
2. **Bee keeping Scheme:** This scheme also fetches revenue for the organization. The organization provides training and teaches the necessary skills to the people who show interest in this profession. Sambandh also provides necessary instruments and basic services to the villagers to install beehives. This has not only helped the organization but also helped people earning their livelihood.
3. **Consultancy:** Some times it also generates money from consultancy by providing training and assistance to other grassroots organizations.

Sambandh has undertaken grassroots institution-building efforts, as it believes that it is ultimately people who will be responsible in maintaining the projects and deliver the goods. So in this direction, it emphasizes on conscientization programmes such as various capacity building training programmes like leadership development, credit management (micro finance), indigenous health practice promotion, community forestry management and common property resource management.

However, despite its efforts on sustenance issue, it still depends heavily on external resources. Thus, to survive and remain as a viable organization, it needs to take initiatives to generate resources at local level. This can only ensure their financial sustainability. The initiatives like aquaculture, micro financing, consultancy should be vigorously taken to generate for the organization.

5.25 Sambandh's Mobilization Programmes

5.25.1 Mobilizing Youths

Sambandh mobilizes its target population i.e., youths and women. As has been indicated earlier, Sambandh as a social organization emerged out of student's movement. Even today, it continues to organize students, frequently meets with student's representatives, pay academic visits to the colleges and academic institutes to exchange ideas and views. As a functionary puts it, 'we extract ideas from the bright young minds and apply it in our programme activities'.

5.25.2 Mobilizing Women

Sambandh mobilizes women through its various empowerment programmes. Through the formation of various women self-help groups it encourages women to participate in various initiatives undertaken by it. Women have been participating in large numbers in various livelihood programmes, popular campaigns such as prohibition, safe drinking water, etc.

5.26 Empowerment Programmes

Through its cultural forum *Sabdhan*, Sambandh carries forward various awareness programmes. Sambandh cultural groups establish rapport by mixing with the community. With the help of women self help groups, this cultural wing has successfully campaigned against prohibition. It has also engaged in popularizing adult literacy programme.

Balwadi is another mode through which they have been creating a vibrant learning atmosphere in the remote areas of Mayurbhanj district. Besides, it also organizes picture rally, children's rally to popularize various messages among the masses.

5.27 Natural Resource Management

Amongst other issues, Sambandh's effort in the creation of herbal gardens and generating income resources from it requires special mention. By making herbal gardens and preserving rare medicinal plants, they have traditional practices and also provided source of livelihood to traditional herbal medicine practitioners. Sambandh mobilizes, organizes these practitioners and takes them to various exposure trips. They are encouraged to preserve the traditional medicinal plants.

5.28 Strategy Formation

Considering the social fabric and rigid stratification system in rural India, Sambandh follows a unique strategy by involving all sections of the society in its activities. Its activities evolve around three primary groups in the operational areas. These are i. Higher (rich, landlord), middle (educated group, teachers, professionals) and lower, (poor, land less class). Thus, it establishes covert relationship with rich people. Pointing out the importance of taking the help of higher class, Sambandh personnel say that they are the influential persons in the region. Therefore, Sambandh seeks their co-operation by tacitly nominating them to various statutory bodies initiated and formed by it. Sambandh offers some honorary positions to rich and influential people in different committees and groups. This is done to keep them happy and to satisfy their 'ego' says a senior functionary. Sambandh utilizes the resources of 'middle class' of the region and makes use of their skill and knowledge for the benefit of their projects and also takes their help in fomenting new innovative ideas, etc. The beneficiary group, the target population forms the unprivileged, vulnerable section of the region. Sambandh seeks labour power and co-operation from them. Therefore, Sambandh achieves its objective - which is to

work for the unprivileged section of the region by winning the support and co-operation from the other communities in the region.

Sambandh believes in the cordial and mutual relations between three like people, government and the Sambandh can only help in achieving the desired objectives.

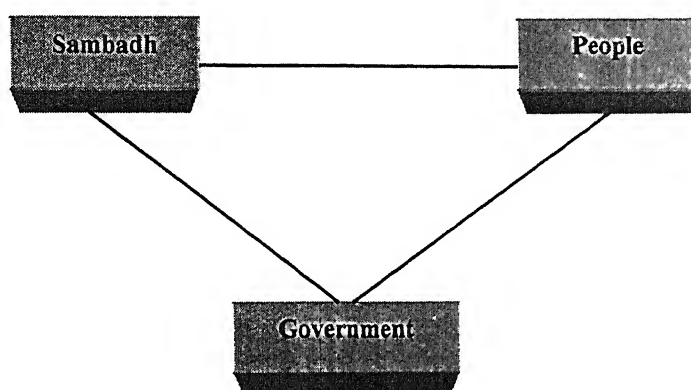


Figure 5.5: Sambandh, Government and People inter face

According to a senior Sambandh project coordinator, 'though projects are carried out under the aegis of our organization, we also seek help both from the people and the government'. While government supports come in form of financial and administrative help, people's support is obtained by their active participation in the projects.

5.29 Self-Help Groups

Sambandh has fomented the idea of forming self-help groups in the areas of its operation especially in villages to look after its projects. By forming these groups, it ensures the participation of vulnerable section to solve their problems. Sambandh propagates that since problems such as poverty, ecological hazards, and health issues cannot be solved at individual effort, it is necessary that villagers should come together,

chalk out strategies to find solutions to these problems. Hence, the roles and functions of SHGs become paramount.

Through SHGs people share ideas, innovate strategies and most importantly, motivate each other to build up group solidarity. This, in turn helps achieving the desired objectives. Sambandh has formulated different SHGs on different issues such as *pani panchayat*, women empowerment, and environment. There are both men SHGs and women SHGs. There are a number of SHGs in each village. Sambandh plays the coordinator as well as facilitator roles.

5.30 Corruption Issue

With regard to the corruption issue in NGO sector, the staff and functionary of Samabandh had also expressed their apprehension on this issue. According to one of its zonal coordinators, the way number of NGOs is shooting up, it definitely encourages the practices of unfair means for their survival. However, when the attention was drawn to their own NGO in this regard, they were conspicuous. According to them, they have been getting support from various funding agencies on the basis of their hard work and effort. They argue NGOs formed after 1990s are corrupt, due to the easy availability of funds and sharp rise of NGOs. And to prevent this unabated problem, 'only solution is the large scale grassroots involvement of people in NGOs' projects and activities'

5.31 Social Factors

Sambandh has also experienced difficulties in its operational areas due to social conflicts and disparities. Doubts have been raised against its activities. It has also been the victim of political factionalism in certain areas. Misinformation and rumors has also created unpleasant situations for it. According to a functionary 'some people are envious of our achievements and organize people against us'. Another functionary describing how a group, which did not want Sambadh to work there, physically attacked him points out how NGOs and Sambandh is working in a hostile environment.

Realizing this problem, Sambandh however has taken some initiatives to create social harmony in their operational areas. It has established women forums, which take the initiative to bring the various factions to a common problem. Differences and rivalries are sorted out through constant negotiations and dialogues between groups.

A Sambandh project coordinator narrates how he has been determined to do social work since his school days.

One day we the school children of our village were going to school. It was raining heavily. To reach the school, which was situated in the neighboring village, we had to cross a canal. A few bamboos were used as a bridge to cross over. On that day when we reached near the canal we saw no bamboo there. Either it was washed away or was taken by somebody for fuel. We could not go to the school. We came back. However, I took the decision to engage myself in developmental activities since then.

5.32 Summing up

Both these NGOs have emerged out of student's movements. Even today these two organizations (Sambandh in particular) keep involving student volunteers in its activities.

While leadership was the key in their establishment growth, it was instrumental in case of GV and credit for GV's achievements is attributed to its leader. Hence, we NGOs too heavily depend on their leaders for the survival and success. Hence, charismatic and efficient leadership does play a crucial role in the rise, growth and consolidation of these organizations. Contrary to our assumption, socio-cultural factors/differences do not play any substantive negative roles in implementing programmes in a cross socio-cultural setting. Though there have faced difficulties due to socio-cultural differences in the areas of their operation, these NGOs have sorted out those problems through various negotiations and confidence building measures.

In a cross social setting, NGOs do confront with issues relating to socio-cultural differences and disputes, and these of course affect their smooth functioning. However our observation entail that though these two NGOs have faced these problems, they have not only overcome this but also able to establish a cordial relations.

Corruption indeed is an issue of concern in NGO sector. From the series of discussion and interaction with the NGO personnel, it is found that this trend is fast spreading within his so-called 'non-profit and voluntary' sector and hence, future studies need to concentrate on this key issue.

Chapter VI

6.1 Summary and Conclusion

Environmental NGOs are topical and their increasing presence at grassroots level is indeed an encouraging trend. In this study, it is found that grassroots environmental NGOs in coastal Orissa promote environmental awareness among the masses on issues relating to ecology/environment. The issues found prominence are social forestry and joint forestry management, sanitation, etc.

These NGOs have carried out awareness building strategies such as organizing *padyatras*, distributing posters, holding frequent public meetings, spreading the message through popular cultural programmes, etc. That apart, they organize rallies, protest marches, etc. to mobilize the masses in large scale. NGOs also engage people in execution of their projects and try to make use of local resources in the best possible way. Besides these programme strategies, NGOs have also initiated certain innovative approaches. These encourage indigenous knowledge bases and apply those in finding the solution to the local environmental problems. Through constant negotiation and involvement with the local masses, they enhance mutual trust and understanding with existing local institutions. Yet another significant strategy on their part is to empower the local people through various schemes, such as micro finance, clichés, etc. which enhances the self-confidence of the people. Noteworthy is the establishment of grassroots institutions and self help groups and also people's participation in project activities carried out by NGOs.

The contribution of these NGOs in extending the environmental cause is praiseworthy. By spreading out environment related messages, they have been able to generate awareness among the people. These efforts and strategies may not bring about quick and tangible results, but in the long run it will certainly help motivating people to enthusiastically take part in programmes initiated by NGOs to address the grievances of their region. Eventually, it will set the stage for fomenting grassroots micro movements.

At grassroots level smaller NGOs through their intensive campaigns and wider networks create an environment for the movement. These grassroots NGOs may not be reputed ones and certainly not the ones, which mobilize huge funds, but these have come a long way in creating awareness among the people and fomenting the New Social Movements (NSMs).

Our empirical observation suggests that about 12 Grassroots Environmental NGOs (out of 40 sample NGOs) have been effective in their efforts in creating micro environmental movements through their active participation in movement activities such as networking, institution building, and awareness building programmes.

With regard to the major independent variable of the study, NGO approaches of functioning, we have conclusively found that no grassroots NGO practices either top-down or bottom-up approach exclusively. Only 5 out of 40 NGOs were found to be practicing exclusively top-down oriented practices with minor variations/exceptions. And out of the rest 35 NGOs about 10 were found to be practicing high intensive bottom-up practices again with minor variations. Thus, no grassroots NGOs could be completely top-down oriented in practice, like some of the leading International NGOs, which necessarily function with the consent and co-operation of the foreign governments and deliver the aid material/projects sent by their governments. Similarly no grassroots NGOs could be functioning exclusively by bottom-up practices in developing countries as assistance/directives from local governments become inevitable in some form or the other for it controls the infrastructure and public distribution machinery. May be to survive as an 'organization' compels them to follow different strategies at times. Though our study does not comply with the assumption that grassroots NGOs exclusively follow bottom-up approach, it is found that they still are inclined towards bottom-up approaches.

The other major finding of the study is the association between NGO effectiveness and their reward system. Despite NGOs bestowed with values such as altruism and voluntarism, reward and incentives do contribute for their effective functioning. In the case of altruism, personal interest is sacrificed for the sake of

collectivity; workers will be willing to perform if they believe that the agency is promoting the goal that they value. However, it may not be true in all cases and in our study material rewards and benefits play a role in the effective functioning of NGOs.

The subsequent findings like positive association (may not be of very high degree) of NGO effectiveness with motivation of the employees shows that employees' motivation remains an important contributing factor for the effective functioning of NGOs. Conventionally, motivation has been a strong predicator of organizational success and the output and the present study supports this view. Similarly, the study observed a significant relationship between the prevalent work culture and the effectiveness. Same is the case in terms of the variable sense of purpose of the organization and its effectiveness. These findings are in order and in conformity with the spirit of voluntarism and altruism. Because, when equipped with the spirit of altruism and voluntarism these grassroots level workers are also found to be a highly motivated lot who understand their jobs and perform their jobs with a sense of purpose.

Other findings in relation to independent variables such as accountability and sustainability, it is found that a significant relationship exists between accountability and effectiveness of NGOs. That confirms our assumption that accountability remains an important predicator for the effective functioning of NGOs. A similar association is observed between sustainable issue of NGOs and their effectiveness. As per the observations of the study, grassroots NGOs are more organizationally sustainable than financially. This makes us to believe that even though they are financially drained off, they may sustain and survive for some more time owing to their organizational sustainability. And to make them financially sustainable NGOs need to generate their own resources instead of merely depending on external funds.

As far as work culture and structure of grassroots NGOs are concerned, it is observed that despite being small and grassroots in nature with less number of staff and personnel, a hierarchical set up does exist in these organizations. However, though structurally hierarchical, functionally they are flexible. Further study may reveal interesting findings on this aspect of grassroots NGOs.

The major observation found from the two case studies can be summarized as follows. With regard to the social factors affecting the functioning of NGOs at grassroots level, it was observed that these factors though present are not so manifest. NGOs do confront with problems relating to casteism, political factionalism in the areas of their operation. From the case studies, it is found that the corruption issue is indeed a crucial issue in NGO sector. This remains an issue of great concern and needs to be studied in great details further.

6.2 Limitations of the Study

This study however has its limitations. We could not apply parametric statistics to establish level of correlation between various variables of the study. Had it been purely a quantitative exercise the independent variables could have shown inter-correlation as well. But the descriptive nature of our study and the small size of the sample did not allow drawing such conclusions which may very well be the limitation of the nature of this study.

The study does not provide inter-correlations between independent variables. Due to its quasi-quantitative nature, it was not possible to statistically test the association.

The study is also confined to a specific theoretical framework that is the new social movement. Studying NGO effectiveness from new social movement perspective is a novel exercise. Since this is a novel attempt to operationalize effectiveness from a social movement perspective, the supportive literature on this aspect was not sufficient.

The scope of the study is confined to grassroots NGOs of coastal Orissa. Time and resource constraints limit the samples to a particular area. Therefore, further studies need to be carried out on this aspect in different contexts and from different samples.

Effectiveness being an open concept, a standardized measurement is yet to be developed to study NGOs. The measurement tool we have applied in the study is subject to its limitation.

Considering the diverse nature and scope of NGOs as has been spelt out in this work, it is hard to generalize the findings of this study. However, it does provide an understanding on grassroots environmental NGOs efficiency and strategy formation at local level. It brings out certain issues such as corruption, accountability, sustainability, etc. which can further be investigated.

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Appendix-I

Interview Schedule

Research Topic: Aspects of Effectiveness: A Study of Grassroots Environmental NGOs

Background information of the NGO

1. Name of the NGO:
2. Year of the establishment:
3. Year of the registration:
4. The name of the registration Act:
5. Areas of activity:
6. (a) Your Geographical areas of operation in Orissa:

<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
i. District	District
ii. Block	Block
iii. Any other States in the country _____	
7. Sources of Funding: i. Foreign ii. National iii. Self/ Members/ Community
8. Organizational details:

	category of staff	Designation	Job Description	Total No.
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

Accountability:

1. Your NGO makes its incomes and expenditures public by
 - a. making the budget open to the members
 - b. making it open to the beneficiaries

- b. publishing it in your organization newsletter c. publishing it in press
- d. sending to the funding agencies
- 2 i. Whether your NGO accounts are audited? Yes/ No
 - ii. If yes how?
 - a. audited by Regd. C.A. b. govt. audit dept. c. others (specify)
- 3. How regularly your organization is being audited?
 - a. annually b. biannually c. occasionally d. never
- 4. You think it is essential on your part to send reports to your donor agency regularly?
 - Yes/ No
- 5. You send the report to the funding agency:
 - a. as and when required by the donors b. as and when the projects get completed
 - b. you take your own time c. according to the scheduled time

Sustainability:

- 1. Your NGO is sustainable because:
 - a. you can run the organization out of the benefits generated from projects
 - b. you will open your sources of income i.e. plantation, handicrafts etc.
 - c. you will be able to generate funds and get projects on an ongoing basis
- 2. How many environment related projects are undertaken by you so far?

Of these how many

- a. completed b. ongoing c. incomplete/ withdrawn

- 3. Of the completed projects how many were completed in time _____,
how many delayed _____

- 4. In your NGO:

a. employees have discretionary power to take local level decisions without involving higher ups in the organization Yes/ No

If yes what type of decisions do they take

- b. employees can approach the top executives without involving their immediate bosses/supervisors
- c. various project in-charges/officers have autonomy in handling their projects without interference from the above
- d. the organization is rule bound and employees are highly disciplined
- e. the major decisions in the NGO are taken by the chief executive/executive body where there are no inputs /feedback from the employees

5. Employees at your organization:

- a. exhibit trust and benevolence towards each other
- b. are involved in the decision-making process and encouraged to put forward their suggestions and criticisms frankly
- c. are allowed to help out each other irrespective of their positions and jobs
- d. are awarded rewards and sanctions whenever they contribute substantially to the organization
- e. enhance interpersonal, inter-group co-operation
- f. allowed to take up small individual projects on their own

6. Do you include employees/members related problems in your agenda at the organizational meeting? Yes/No

7. Do you allow them to express their problems, grievances, complains in the executive meeting? Yes/No

Approach:

- 1. How does your NGO make a project proposal?
 - a. by identifying a problem and doing literature survey and academic exercise
 - b. with the help of people's initiatives at a particular area you are in touch with
 - c. by involving people of an area but initiative taken by you
 - d. by making an initial survey of the areas for the feasibility of the project (to identify bottlenecks)
 - e. by suggesting remedial measures/technical solutions to the problems identified

- f. by taking the beneficiaries' views in suggesting remedial measures/technical solutions
 - g. a project conferred on you by the govt. or donor agencies
- 2 How does your NGO implement a project?
- a. with the help of your staff only
 - b. your staff in collaboration with the target population in the project area
 - c. with minimum use of your staff and more through people's institutions/bodies/organizations found locally in the project area
 - d. with the help of local self govt.'s bodies like municipalities, panchayats and govt. administrative machinery like offices of BDO, SDO, Dist. magistrate, etc.
 - e. technical and remedial measures are sought from the govt. experts
 - f. technical and remedial advises are sought from the target population to make use of local experiences and traditional knowledge bases

For the smooth completion of the projects, beneficiaries should actively participate in the projects Agree/Disagree

2. Do the beneficiaries participate in the projects undertaken by your NGO? Yes/ No
- If yes, at what level do they participate

		yes	no
1	project implementation		
2	project designing		
3	project maintaining		
4	all the above		
5	none the above		
6	any other		

3. How many villages/areas have been benefited out of your various projects (in total by now) _____
4. Approximate population size benefited from your project _____
- Approximate budget involved in each of the project you have dealt with by now _____

5. The objectives of an NGO can be better achieved:

- a. by participating on multilateral bargaining at different levels such as bureaucracy, govt., industrial organizations etc.
- b. by taking the help of larger (Govt. semi Govt.) bodies while executing projects/schemes
- c. by emphasizing on community participation
- d. by involving local people in mobilizing resources as well as project implementation
- e. by creating sustained community groups, village committees, youth clubs etc.
- f. any other

6. Have you organized people to stage protest against govt. agencies, corporate bodies etc. Yes/No

If yes, How many times by now your NGO has organized the concerned people the concerned people to:

1	make demonstrations in (peaceful) protest	
2	make demonstrations which have turned violent and faced govt. repression	
3	gherao govt. officials, peoples' representatives like ministers, MPs/MLAs	
4	staged marches/padyatras	
5	submitted petitions	
6	any other	

Net working:

1. Are you part of any environmental NGO net-work in India? Yes/No

If yes, please name the NGO net-work you are associated with _____

2. Does your NGO have linkages/interaction with any such INGO? Yes/No

If yes please specify _____

3. Your NGO has forged alliance with other NGOs to:

		yes	no
A	information sharing		
B	undertake joint campaigns & mobilization		
C	hold deliberation, build strategies		
D	chalk out plans to combat the problems		
E	jointly stage demonstrations to bring authorities to the negotiating table		
F	any other		

4. How important has media's role been in popularizing your cause/objectives/mission

Important/ not important

5. How many times your cause has been championed by the media?

		local	national
A	news paper		
B	magazines		
C	radio		
D	TV net-work		

7. No. of meetings/seminars/conferences you have organized to strengthen the net-working:

	No.
seminars	
conferences	
workshops	
meetings	

8. Do you publish your news letter/magazine? Yes/No
9. How many papers/reports have you published since your registration? _____
10. Do you have access to email/internet? Yes/No
11. To be successful an NGO should arouse public opinion, strengthen various awareness building strategies: Agree/ Disagree

Sense of purpose:

1. As an environmental NGO you ensured that:
 - a. the employees are environmentally sensitive before recruited
 - b. your NGO sensitizes them to the environment after recruitment by sending them to the field
 - c. your NGO sensitizes them to the environment through in-house training programs and providing literature
 - d. your NGO sensitizes them to environment by sending them to do refresher courses/short term courses outside
2. As an environmental NGO, by and large your staff: (Alternate Responses)
 - a. believes in the noble noble cause it is engaged in
 - b. is a lot devoted to environmental cause as a matter of profession (self fulfillment)
 - c. is a lot which finds only an occupation in environmental issues
 - d. is a lot that is still occupationally floating and would leave for greener pasture whenever found
3. As an environmental NGO, if by and large your staff's environmental awareness about the sanctity of ecological/environmental order, its principle, facts etc.
 - a. is of high level b. is of modest level c. poor d. absent
4. As an environmental NGO, if your NGO believes in
 - a. developmental activities to take priority over environment/ecology which could be restored easily
 - b. use of eco-friendly technologies to solve environmental problems
 - c. sanctity of nature and ecology which must not be tampered by development activities as nature and ecology is fragile

- d. eco- friendly developmental approach involving people and respect for nature

Work culture:

1. How are major decisions taken in your organization?
 - a. only by the NGO authority
 - b. NGO authority only in consultation with NGO staff
 - c. collective decision of the authority and staff
 - d. only as per the advice of expert/consultant
 - e. all the three, authority, staff and consultant
2. When members within the organization disagree with certain decisions, how these differences are solved:
 - a. the boss's view prevails upon
 - b. the technically better view prevails upon
 - c. the majority view prevails upon
 - d. it's left unresolved
3. Absenteeism among your NGO employee is
 - a. rampant
 - b. moderate
 - c. negligible
 - d. absent
4. If your employees work beyond office hours:
 - a. whenever asked under pressure
 - b. voluntarily all the time
 - b. voluntarily but only when required
 - c. voluntarily if OT is paid
 - d. never
5. If the level of co-operation found among employees:
 - a. excellent
 - b. good
 - c. satisfactory
 - d. poor
6. If the employees fill-in for each other's jobs:
 - a. all the time
 - b. only when asked for
 - c. cannot as the job requirements are different by nature
 - d. only when asked and only when capable of filling-in
7. If by and large you observe that your employees are: (Alternate Responses)
 - a. more concerned with confirming the norms of the organization
 - b. more concerned with the goal of the organization
 - c. more concerned with their professional satisfaction
 - d. more concerned with pecuniary benefits
 - e. all the above

8. If the projects in hand now are:

- a. directly controlled by the chief executive of the organization
- b. directly controlled by the separate project managers who have complete discretionary powers in execution
- c. the various project managers have limited discretionary powers and receive directives frequently from the chief executive
- d. the subordinate employees are directly responsible and accountable to the chief executive
- e. the subordinate employees are accountable to their immediate heads

9. By and large you have found that employees in your NGO are:

- a. very serious about their jobs assigned
- b. very callous to their jobs assigned
- c. somehow complete the jobs assigned
- d. serious only when jobs are attached with rewards/incentives

10. If in the day-to-day matters particularly in the technical/field related matters, your employees are:

- a. very hierarchy concerned
- b. the least hierarchy concerned and purely professionally concerned
- c. more professionally concerned and less hierarchy concerned
- d. equally professionally and hierarchy concerned

Reward System:

1. Rewards and incentives are given to the employees to generate motivation and enthusiasm among them: Agree/Disagree

If agree, please give details of the rewards, (promotion, cash prize etc.) and incentives (increment etc.)

Salary, bonus etc. in your NGO during last 5 years

Rewards _____ Incentives _____

2. If rewards in your NGO are:

- a. very hard earned
- b. not so far fetched
- c. based on seniority but for all
- d. based on merit and performance alone (irrespective of seniority)

3. If incentives in your NGO are:

a. time bound and routine matters occurring regularly b. uniformly given to all employees c. occasionally only incase of a boom, but for all d. occasional and selective meaning given to a selected high performers only

4. Do you have any provisions/arrangements for employee's safety, retirement needs, medical facilities etc. Yes/No

Motivation:

1. Your organization as an environmental NGO is working for:

- a. fighting out ecological/environmental degradation in your region
- b. restoring the ecological/environmental order of your region
- c. earning a reputation for one's own organization
- d. earning a livelihood by different means
- e. serving the people in your region by a different way
- f. professional and self satisfaction
- g. the growth and development of your NGO
- h. identifying the local/indigenous practices and knowledge bases to give these wider recognition
- i. restoring the lost access of people whose life support system is directly based on nature

2. As per your observations mostly employees in your NGO continue to work with equal interest and commitment:

- a. even if a promotion is denied b. even if one does not get adequate support from one's colleagues
- b. even if one's salaries and perks are not up to their expectations
- c. even if the weather and physical conditions at work in the field are bad
- d. even if one's office is ill equipped/maintained
- e. even iv the target population non-cooperative
- f. even if other related NGOs are govt. agencies are not cooperative in connection with a project

- g. even if the project does not get media coverage

Awareness

1. How many public meetings have you organized to popularize the environmental issue that you fight for? _____

2. How many awareness training camps have you organized to promote environmental awareness? _____

3. To arrest local environmental problems, your NGO:

- a. takes the help of existing socio/political institutions like mahila samiti, youth clubs, etc.
- b. creates new grassroots level organizations involving people
- c. take the help of Govt. bodies and officials
- d. any other

4. Have you helped developing below mentioned local institutions to sustain awareness campaign? a. youth clubs b. village committee c. inter village committees at panchayat level d. any other voluntary association

1. How do you build awareness on environmental issues among masses?

by organizing street plays

by carrying a message with popular folk songs in festivals/melas/jataras

by participating in cultural programmes of local people

by implanting success stories through training camps/meeting to win people's confidence

by providing information, technical knowledge about eco friendly practices through training camps

by persuading for community participation

by organizing film shows/distribute reading materials/posters, etc.

6. Besides people's participation you accept their suggestions, criticisms and strategies to overcome the local environmental problems? Y/N

Support from Political party

1. Do you think political support (any political party) essential for the sustance of NGOs? Y/N If yes you think because

- a. it provides a platform to address issues
- b. it helps in organizing and mobilizing people, resources
- c. it helps mobilizing resources easily
- d. any other

Do you obtain support from political parties? a. One party b. two parties c. more than two parties

Leadership

1. The importance and need for developing an effective second line leadership has been emphasized to ensure a sustainable leadership to the NGO Agree/Disagree

2. If the top leadership in your NGO is

- a. a source of inspiration and motivation for the staff to work
- b. highly informative and knowledgeable on environmental issues
- c. dynamic and has wide contacts with other NGOs, press media and govt. depts.
- d. full of ideas to direct your thought and action
- e. resourceful for generating funds for your NGO
- f. committed to environmental cause
- g. benevolent and empathetic to the staff
- h. commands respects among the staff and has effective authority to mobilize the staff
- i. possessing effective rapport building ability with any target group

3. How frequently leadership meets the staff of the NGO

- a. frequently b. occasionally, rarely, never

4. Do the staff members directly discuss/talk to the leadership about their problems?

- a. frequently b. occasionally c. rarely d. never

Advocacy

1. To date, have you been involved in any litigation concerning the cause you champion?
Y/N If yes, how many times court verdicts have gone in your favour and how many times against?
2. Through your sustained campaign as well as with the help of national networking have you managed to influence govt. policies/decisions on any environmental issue? Y/N
If yes have you managed to do it
 - a. by obtaining court order
 - b. pressurizing the govt. bodies through various pressure tactics like media campaign, agitation, etc.
 - c. exchanging dialogues with opponent/govt. bodies in frequent meetings and public debates
 - d. by diplomacy i.e. negotiating through political representatives
 - e. all the above

Appendix II

Check List

Research Topic: Aspects of Effectiveness: A Study of Grassroots Environmental NGOs

The nature of socio-cultural-political and economic environment influences the functioning of NGOs

Q1. Your areas of operation

Rural ii. Urban, iii. Tribal, iv. Non-tribal

Q2. Your programmes/schemes are better implemented

i. In an environment where majority of the residents are literate Y/N

In an environment where most of the people have environmental awareness because of any environmental movement/ protest experienced in the area Y/N

In an environment where social conflicts such as caste conflict, communal conflicts are relatively less Y/N

In an environment where bulk of the population belongs to the target population i.e., disadvantaged Y/N

In an environment where political conflicts in terms of class struggle are rampant Y/ N

In an environment where political parties are actively engaged in establishing their control Y/N

In an area which is environmentally very sensitive and vulnerable and attracts media attention Y/N

Nature of Opportunities Available

Q1. As you also deal with environmental issues, do you keep your employees informed about the recent developments on environmental issues (govt. decisions, industrial lobby etc.)

Q2. What are those opportunities available to you that, you think contributed for the smooth functioning of your activities?

Please elaborate

Q3. How beneficial are the opportunities such as environmental global agenda, international declarations, protocols, forums etc. for success of your programmes?

Q4. How do you make use of local influential people, favorable bureaucrats and politicians?

Q5. Have your efforts been supported or corroborated by other environmental/ civil liberty movements in the region? Y/N

Q6. If yes, please say something about those movements and how they are useful in expediting your cause/effort

Q7. Have you undertaken joint campaign to achieve your objectives along with other like-minded NGOs Y/N

If yes, please give details.

Q8. Presence of likeminded NGOs in the same region lead to mutual co-operation information sharing, networking among each other Y/N

Q9. Otherwise how do you overcome the problem of competition and mistrust created by the presence of other NGOs/VOs

Target organization/bodies

An NGO should be clear about its vision and a well-defined target group in order to be effective

Q.1. What is your vision?

Q2. What is the nature and character of the organization against which you are to work?
(e g govt. organization, industrial organization, industrial lobby, association etc.).

Q3. Do you deploy different strategies against different target organizations against which your NGO has to work?

Please give details.

Q4. Do you think participation of target population in your activities is useful Y/N

Q5. Why do you think so?

Project

Q1. Was the project undertaken, initiated by community? Y/N

Q2. Was it designed in a bottom-up approach? Y/N

Q3. Was the social analysis such as problem identification and priorities decided or carried out by or with communities? Y/N

Q4. After project completion or termination how do you continue community participation?

Q5. Do the project proposals clearly identify a target group? Y/N

Q6. Are the concerns of vulnerable groups are addressed? Y/N

Q7. How?

Q8. It is believed that an efficient management of resources is important to carry out activities effectively. Do you agree? Y/N

Q9. How do you manage the resources?

Q10. Do you have any indigenous management system or you simply follow conventional management style?

Q11. If you have evolved any innovative strategy, please elaborate upon

Approach: Top Down/Bottom Up

- Q1. How many projects you have undertaken so far (last 10 years)
- Q2. How many were withdrawn?
- Q3. Reasons for withdrawn
- Q4. How many withdrawn projects were initiated by the community?
- Q5. Out of the withdrawn projects how many were conferred on you by the donor agencies?
- Q6. How many projects you have completed so far?
- Q7. Out of those how many were initiated by the people?
- Q8. How many were conferred on you by the donor agencies?
- Q9. How many were taken up because of your own efforts?

Funding

It is observed that NGOs have increasingly become dependent on external funding. It is also a fact that donors cannot fund NGOs indefinitely. In this context

- Q1. Have you evolved any self-sufficient mechanism to meet the expenses? Y/N

Please elaborate

- Q2. Don't you think by heavily depending on external funds, an NGO is forced to make compromises on local issues? Y/N

- Q3. By receiving funds from donors, NGOs get bogged down to the wishes of donors

Do you agree? Y/N Please Explain

- Q4. Have you ever evaluated your programmes by an external evaluator? Y/N

If yes, please give details

- Q5. Why NGOs are suspicious about external funding?

- Q6. What is the volume of foreign funds used by your NGO?

- Q7. What are the channels of foreign funding available to you? How do you use them?

Push/Pull/Lobbying

- Q1. To avail a project, do you take the help of powerful/influential lobby? Y/N
- Q2. How important is the role of influential bodies/persons to impress upon the donor agencies? Important/ Not Important
- Q3. Why do you think so?
- Q4. How do you approach a donor agency for a project or any support (financial)?
- Q5. Is it essential to build a personal rapport with donor officials to win over their support? Y/N
- Q6. Do the donor agencies set any precondition before approving sanctions? Y/N
- Please give some examples
- Q7. How do you manage to obtain support from the government?
- Q8. Do you think an NGO run by bureaucrats or influential persons have better chance of obtaining government support? Y/N
- Why do you think so?
- Q9. Out of your experiences can you just elaborate how the push, pull factors contribute to receive benefits, resources etc.

Leadership

- Q1. How the leadership evolved and emerged? (history)
- Q2. How a leader is selected?
- Q3. In villages where, you run your programmes, does your organization select any leader to look after your programmes? Y/N
- Q4. If yes, how do you select?
- Q5. Do you provide help and support whatever and whenever the village leaders ask for? Y/N
- Q6. Do you train them how to manage the things?
- Q7. How do you do this?
- Q8. Are you fostering leadership from the target population? Y/N
- Q9. How do you do it?

Internal Democracy

Internal democracy is important for any organization to function effectively and NGO is not an exception

Q1. How does your NGO democratize the decision-making process?

Please elaborate

Q2. Do the beneficiaries participate in the decision-making?

Q3. How frequently the governing board meets?

Q4. How often your staff meet with leadership?

Q5. What are the mechanisms adopted by your organization to elect the new Board members?

Q6. Do you prepare annual report/statement of accounts every year?

Q7. Whom do you circulate annual report/statement of accounts?

i. Board members only ii. General Body members only iii. Donors iv. Govt. officials v.

Local people/bodies/panchayats vi. Media vii. Any other

Q8. Do the community members represent to the governing board? Y/N

Q9. Do you have experts/professionals on the board? Y/N

Mass Media

Over the years it is felt that media and NGOs do not really trust each other. They play a tactical game. NGOs feel that media should come to them to highlight their unique achievements while on the other media expects NGOs to approach them. In his scenario

Q1. What have you done to obtain media support?

Please elaborate

Q2. Have you got any support/attention from national media?

Q3. What kind of approach do you follow with the media?

Collaborative

Combative

Appendix III

Response to Comment 1

How Grades were determined

With regard to the first critical comment pertaining to the weighing procedure of the dependent variable 'NGO Effectiveness' my response is the following:

In fact I have followed the usual method of measurement that has been discussed by me in the thesis p. no. 68. May be the description given there were not enough. Hence, this is another attempt to add more clarity to the weighing procedure. The six major indicators of 'effectiveness' devised in accordance with the new social movement perspective are first spelled out in p. 64, Table no. 2.1. These six indicators together make the (measuring) index of the variable 'effectiveness'. This is the first stage of operationalization of the concept. The second stage of operationalization is spread over in the subsequent pages, i.e., from 90 to 113 in which each of the six indicators is further operationalized on empirical basis. The operational indicators of the six indices make their sub-indices. These sub-indices are reflected in the form of specific question items (more than one). Each question items in terms of its varying intensity have been weighed in a three-point scale (with arithmetic values). All the scores obtained on the question items in a sub-index are summed up to make the score of that indicator. Similarly the summation of the scores obtained in all the six indicators makes the score of the index of 'effectiveness'. Thus scores of 'effectiveness' (six indicators) of each of the 40 NGOs were calculated. Having obtained 40 such scores, the range of scores was broken into three equal segments, such as Low (segment), Moderate (segment) and High (segment) and then the frequencies in each segment has been noted. Similar is the weighing method for all other (independent) variables used in the study.

Comment 2

Political climate and civil society in Orissa

Civil society plays an important role in the various facets of developmental schemes in Orissa, a south-eastern state of India. Like other states of India, Orissa too has numerous civil society organizations i.e., youth clubs, *mahila samitis*, religious organizations, welfare organizations that play the role of watchdog in a responsible civil society.

Political climate in Orissa has provided a platform for good relationship between governments and NGOs. Representative democracy, liberal democratic regime and multi-party set up provide right kind of atmosphere for NGOs to flourish. Though the government of Orissa yet to consider NGOs as complementary partners in various developmental schemes it is not so repressive either. There has been steady rise and growth of NGOs of various kinds and size in Orissa. There are nearly 5000 NGOs with infrastructure and regular staff. Post super cyclone phase has witnessed the sharp rise of NGO activities as they have been active and in forefront in rehabilitation programmes.

As some NGO personnel point out there exists a 'kiss and kick' relationship between NGOs and the government. The government is supportive to those NGOs who initiate development programmes. Service delivery NGOs do enjoy better relations with national /local governments. There do exist 'genuine partnership' between some NGOs and Government. Evident is that some NGOs also receive state's fund for people's development. They also receive the support from government official in implementing programmes and projects. Gram Vikas an NGO came into existence in 1970s on the invitation from the then chief minister who invited a group of young volunteers to formally launch their programmes.

The healthy state of civil society in Orissa can also be observed from the fact that there are various environmental movements that have taken place over the years. Orissa a south-eastern state of India also witnessed a number of initiatives in terms of raising

environmental awareness, mobilizing people and organizing environmental movements. The movements pertaining to Chilika Bachao, Bhitarkanika Sanctuary Preservation, Baliapal (Ghati) protest are well known. The interesting aspect of these movements is that of the people's resistance and people's articulation of the problem. These movements have made people to realize that people's initiative and people's power (*gana udyam avam gana sakti*) will bring about the desired success. Many NGOs such as 'Meet the Students' (MTS), 'Krantadarshi Yuva Sangam' (KYS), Chilika Matsyajibi Mahasangha' (CMM), 'Orissa Krushak Mahasangha' (OKM) have played active role in Save Chilika Movement (Mohanty, 2002). Similarly, NGOs of similar interests in coastal Orissa in a joint strategy formed the Coast Movement of Orissa, (a forum of NGOs) to call an international convention of fishermen, farmers and various environmental and social justice organizations at Paradeep, Orissa in October 1995. Highlighting the need of a collective protest against ecologically unsound aquaculture practices and the commercial entrepreneurs it calls for other interest groups to come together to save the Bhitarkanika sanctuary of Orissa.

In Baliapal too, there was stiff resistance from the locals as the proposed National Test Range (NTR) project threatened the betel (pann) cultivation, the basic source of the livelihood of the people in the region. Uttar Balasore Khepanashtra Ghati Pratirodh Samiti (KGPS) was formed comprising of four fronts such as student's front, the youth front, the women's front and the fishermen front that took the issue to the streets. The institute of *Vichar*, the discussion forum, was constituted to create the consciousness among the people and sort out the local problems (Patel, 1989: 1381-82).

Besides the above mentioned movements, some of environmental micro movements launched by NGOs in Orissa are worth mentioning here. In case of community forest protection, there has been emergence of grassroots movements to protect the forests. Since 1970s on account of growing scarcity of major forest products and threat to their livelihood many forest based communities in Orissa, started forming Forest Protection Committees (FPCs), *Gramya Jangala Surakshya Samiti* (GJSs). Here too NGOs have been instrumental in organizing community based FPCs in interior villages of Orissa.

And these NGOs along with the FPCs have been effective mobilizers of community members (Poffenberger, M et al. 1996: 38-40).

Campaign against commercial plantation (monoculture) of Eucalyptus, campaign for Forest Protection in Orissa were initiated by Orissa Drought Action Forum (ODAF), a network of NGOs. Life and Forest Movement, a state level forum, emerged from ODAF was engaged in advocacy activities against commercial plantation programmes. Because of the commercial plantation programmes, local people especially, tribals were deprived of their natural habitat. Save the Eastern Ghats campaign, Forty two days long All Orissa Environmental Awareness building programme (ended on June 5, 1995), *Jana Jangal Chetana Jatra* were some of the encouraging steps undertaken by NGOs in Orissa towards the protection of environment (CPSW 2000: 3). Today there are many NGOs active in various environmental issues in Orissa. For instance, CPSW, an environmental NGO had organized State Level Environmentalists and Social Activists Meet in July 1990, Orissa Environment Congress in May 1992, and Regional Round Table on Women and Environment in August 1992 (Ibid.).

Pattnaik & Brahmachari (1996: 971- 974) observed that the grassroots institutions like village protection committees (VFPCs) and NGOs such as *Brukshya O Jivar Bandhu* (BOJB) in Nayagarh, Buddhikhamari Joint Protection Party (BJPP) in Baripada, Badatika Anchalik Committee in Balangir have made significant contribution to forest protection movement in Orissa. People's Institute for Participatory Action and Research (PIPAR) in Dhenkanal, National Institute for People's Development Investigation and Training (NIPDIT) in Phulbani, Regional Centre for Development Co-operation (RCDC) in Balangir have done commendable jobs in creating awareness among the people.

The success of these movements do suggest that there exists a responsible civil society and the state constraints itself to take repressive measures. However, there are incidents where state has taken harsh measures to suppress the people's voice.

For example:

In Keshipur, struggle against bauxite mining in Orissa started in 1993 when several mining companies MNCs came to the area for their survey work. Under the banner of 'Prakrutika Sampad Surakshya Parishad' police cases against the activists became common. When new companies like L&T started acquiring new bauxite hill ranges, the people's voice was suppressed by police force. Except Keshipur, there are not enough good examples of state repressive in Orissa against NGOs. The other unpleasant example of the highhandedness of the state government in Orissa on NGO activism during last one decade, that I can recall, was the police firing at Bhubaneswar on the demonstration by the Chilika Bachao Andolon that caused the death of three fishermen. But the firing took place only when the demonstration took ugly turn.

These examples are good enough to reflect the state of civil society in Orissa. Had the state been repressive certainly NGOs in such larger number would not have led so many environmental movements in Orissa. Hence, it can be said that political climate and the state's role by and large have been positive as far as NGOs' role is concerned. Neither while carrying out fieldwork among the NGOs, none of them ever reported me about the undue repressive measure of the state. Thus by and large the government in the state of Orissa has been tolerant towards the activities of the civil society. On the other hand the civil society involving NGOs (both selfish and selfless) is active and trying to mobilize the people at the grassroots level to achieve goals that are immediate concerns of the communities.